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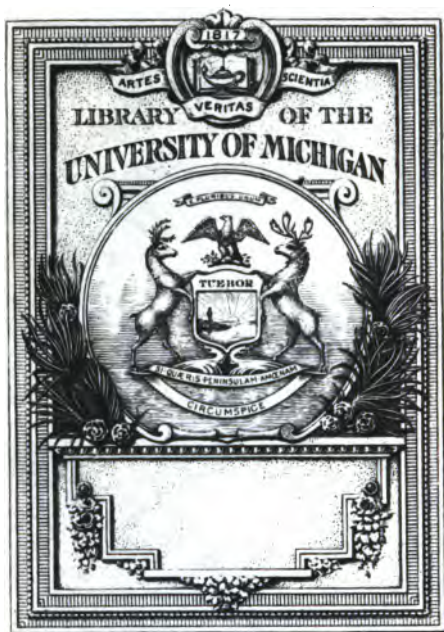
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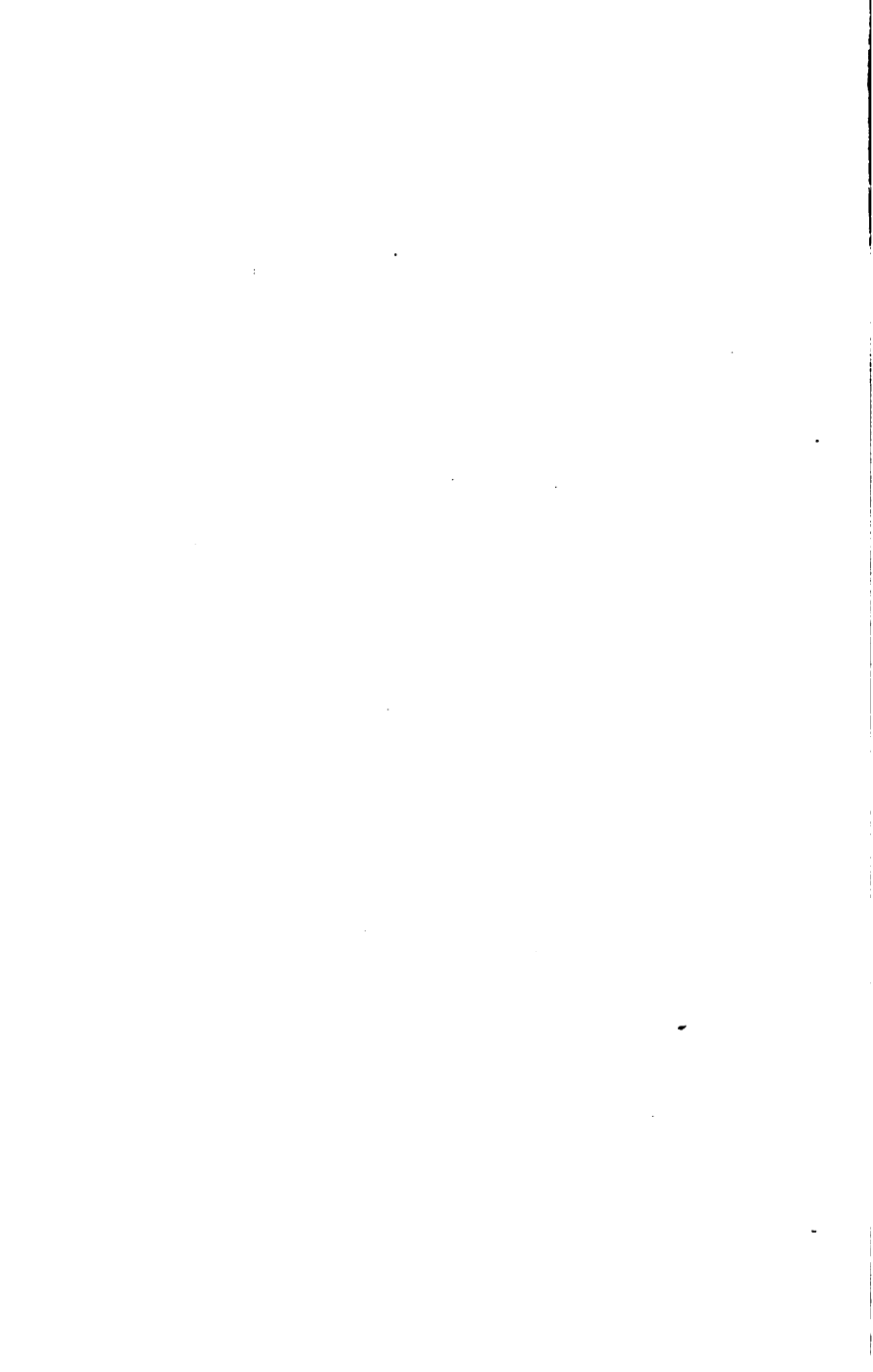
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THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE

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THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE

NEWLY TRANSLATED

BY

E. E. C. GOMME, B.A.



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INTRODUCTION

THE various chronicles, known under the collective title of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, are contained in seven manuscripts, which may thus be described:

I—C. C. C. C. 173, known as the Parker MS. [A], is written in thirteen or fourteen distinct hands, with many interpolations in the earlier portion of the text by the later scribes. From 892 to 1006 the entries are probably contemporary.

II—Cott. Otho, B xi [w]. This was once a fair folio MS. of some 350 leaves; now it is reduced to a few charred fragments. For our knowledge of the text we are dependent on the edition which Wheloc printed in 1643 and 1644.

III—Cott. Tib. A vi [B]. The writing is all in one hand, which has been assigned to the end of the tenth century. Many of the annals have no numbers affixed to them.

IV—Cott. Tib. B i [c]. Several hands, probably all of the latter half of the eleventh century, are traceable.

V—Cott. Tib. B iv [D]. Several hands of much the same date as MS. C.

VI—Laud Misc. 636, known as the Laud MS. [E], transcribed at various dates from 1121 to 1154.

VII—Cott. Domitian A viii [F]. This MS. is mutilated. The bulk is all in one hand; but there are innumerable additions, interlinear and marginal, possibly by a different scribe. The writing has been assigned to the first part of the twelfth century. The interest of MS. F lies in the fact that entries are made both in Anglo-Saxon and in Latin.

There is also a single leaf of a chronicle, Cott. Domitian A ix [H], which deals with the years 1113 and 1114. The loss of the main portion is the more to be regretted because it was plainly independent of E, the only MS. still extant which takes us beyond the eleventh century.

Towards the end of the ninth century Alfred the great was reigning in the southern and eastern districts of England; the rest of the land was under the thralldom of the Danes. Alfred was one of those men who thoroughly grasp the needs and opportunities of the age in which they are born. All the best instincts of his time and race were united in his single personality; from our vantage-ground of the future we are able to look back upon him as the exponent of the vital and progressive tendencies of the ninth century. One of the many helpful and significant ideas, that were running through North Europe at the time, was that of national unity. Charlemagne's work in France and Germany and Italy gave the ideal of a great administration, which dealt with vast and extended territories. The English were not the only folk to feel the new impulse; Eric in Sweden, Harold Fairhair in Norway, Gut-

form in Denmark—all gave expression to the same unconscious will. Egbert, a pupil of Charlemagne, had laid the foundation of the new movement in this country by reviving the title and power of the Bretwaldas. Alfred, forty years afterwards, was able to make a more significant advance; he determined that one king and one king only should bear sway in England. His descendants fully absorbed the idea, and never ceased from strife until success crowned their efforts in 954 and the last king of the Northumbrians was driven from the realm by king Eadred.

The significance of the idea of one king to express the unity of England is easily understood; the conception of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is no less symbolic of the same tendency. Here we have a definite attempt to weld various local annals and records into one whole and to put forward the result as a national chronicle.

The materials which Alfred had at his command were of the most meagre value. The Teutonic settlers of Britain had no notion of giving an account of themselves. Angles and Saxons and Jutes seem to have forgotten their old traditions by the ninth century; and whatever was preserved in the national poetry was not held worthy of a place in the national chronicle. No better proof of this can exist than the state of our knowledge, futile in its scantiness, concerning the actual conquest of Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is probable that the magic- and myth-filled stories of the Celts, dealing with king Arthur and the rest of them, contain more

genuine material than the bare annals of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which cannot even be trusted for chronological exactness. The introduction of Christianity in the seventh century meant a connection, however slight, with the Continent. Lists of kings and bishops were compiled and continued under the new influence; the genealogical traditions of the various races were even committed to prose. In the new medium of the Latin tongue Bede's immortal work was composed.

Alfred collected such scanty records together and added to them a history of the century in which he lived. Egbert's wars were not yet forgotten, and the deeds of his son and grandsons were still nearer the king's own experience. The account of his own wars down to the year 892 is probably from the pen of the West-Saxon monarch himself; no definite judgement can be given, but the spirit and style of the narrative is wholly Alfred's. We know from other sources that the king's mind soared above the isolated life of his own island; he felt in all its fullness the great man's need of a less restricted atmosphere. To this unconscious instinct we may trace the sending of alms to India and the frequent mention of foreign events in that portion of the Chronicle attributed to him. Note, too, the curiosity which is shown about the three Irish exiles of the year 891: Alfred was ever interested in tales of the outside world; compare the account of the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan which he inserted in his translation of Orosius' History.

It was possibly at Winchester, the capital of the

West-Saxon realm, that Alfred superintended the compilation of the first English national chronicle, in contradistinction to purely local annals. In all probability his was the hand which wrote the history of the Danish invasions. The actual autograph¹ of this first portion of our chronicle has not been preserved; but the Parker MS. [A] is a copy of one of the many transcriptions which by the king's orders were distributed among the different religious houses of England. Another MS. was sent to some northern monastery, possibly Ripon, where a series of Northumbrian annals extending at least from 733 to 806 were incorporated in it and fuller extracts were made from Bede. The scribes of MSS. D and E had a copy of this before them when they were transcribing the past annals of their country for a later age.

But Alfred was not content to collect old records and to bring them up to date with a history of his own times; he provided for the future by appointing an official, or officials, to continue the work. In 893 the Danes broke once more into Wessex and the

¹ Concerning which Mr. Plummer writes (vol. 2, c ii-c iii): "It is now fully recognized that from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the ninth century there is a chronological dislocation running through all our extant chronicles, a majority of the events . . . proving to be two years, and some . . . three years behind the true chronology. This dislocation is purely mechanical and is due to the scribe passing over now and again (as may easily be done) some blank annal against which nothing is recorded . . . the proof of this lies in the fact that we have evidence of the existence of a chronicle in which this dislocation had not taken place."

dependent districts; for the remainder of his reign the king was too busy to attend to aught else. For twenty years, however, after his death, the impulse which he had given was continued; and the contemporary records of the reign of Edward the elder are of the finest and most authentic nature.

We have now arrived at the interesting question of the Mercian Register. After closing the year 915 (=918 A), two MSS., B and C, introduce a number of annals, extending from 902-924, and dealing mainly with the deeds of Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians. D, on the other hand, recognizing the crude nature of this insertion, tries to amalgamate it in chronological order with the rest of his text. These records form a little Midland Register of about twenty years. Of the same nature are the second group of northern annals, extending from 901 to 954, which exist fragmentarily in D and E, and are found also in Simeon of Durham in a more elaborate form; these, too, probably originated in a separate document. The existence of two independent contemporary chronicles, dealing with events in middle and northern England, is doubly interesting because they show that attempts at historical writing were being made outside the official continuation of Alfred's work. Unfortunately, however, the impulse was soon exhausted; the various MSS. are obliged to piece out the story of the fifty years following the death of Edward the elder with ballads, notices of deaths, successions, etc., and other scraps. At this point B ceases altogether; A is continued very scantily up to 1001; after that

date the latter, which in 892 had been sent to Winchester, was transferred thence to Christ-Church, where it received a few Canterbury additions, ending up with the Latin Acts of Lanfranc. Before A left Winchester a transcript was made. This is our W, which received no further additions.

The history of the second Danish struggle (983-1018) is recorded by MSS. C, D, E in practically identical terms; the source of this work and the place of composition are unknown. The relations between C, D, E now become too complicated to be expressed in any single formula. All we can say is that in some cases two or more of them used common materials. But we have every possible variety of relation between them. A peculiar feature of C is its strongly anti-Godwinist tone, with which one may compare the opposite side as expressed by E and more moderately by D. C ends abruptly in 1066, D ends incompletely at 1079, E alone continues to 1154. In its present form the last-named is a Peterborough Chronicle; it is full of notices bearing on the local history of Peterborough. But a comparison with other MSS., combined with a study of the language of the earlier entries, shows that they are later insertions in a non-Peterborough Chronicle. The original probably had its home at St. Augustin's Monastery, Canterbury, until 1121; in that year it was transferred to Peterborough. There a fresh transcription was made; the local additions being inserted in the process. From the original MS. at St. Augustin's a bilingual epitome was made for the use of the neighbouring monas-

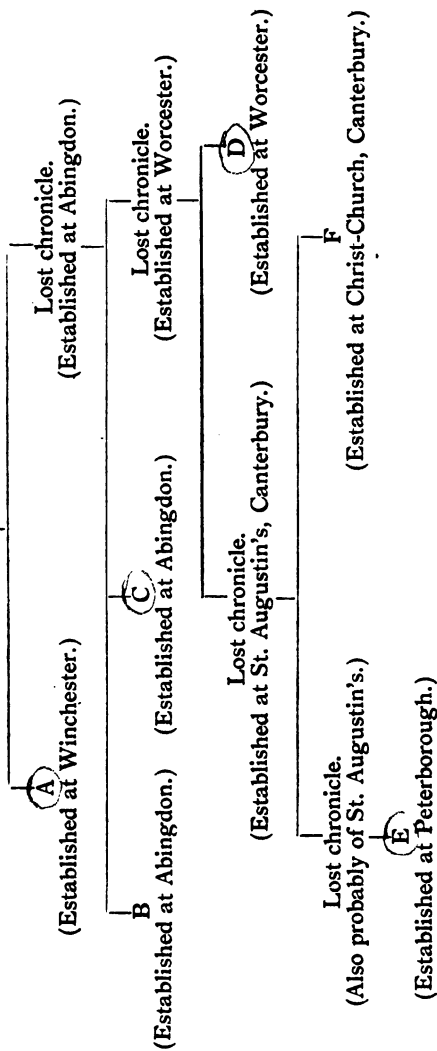
tery of Christ-Church; and in this a few local Kentish notices were embodied. This is our F, which ends in 1058.

Here is the tale of the conception and subsequent development of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as a critical study of the several MSS., which have been handed down to us, reveals it. The table opposite, adapted from Mr. Plummer, shows the precise relationship existing between the extant MSS.

A few words remain to be said concerning the translation. The Parker MS. is the text which I have used, but extracts have been made from the other MSS. wherever the difference of phraseology or fact justified their insertion. As the relative value of the various texts differs considerably, I have judged it necessary to indicate the source from which each annal is derived. Mr. Plummer's critical edition of "Two Saxon Chronicles parallel" (Clarendon Press), has of course formed the basis and guide of this book; and to it I am indebted for the few remarks above on the origin and growth of the chronicles, for many of the notes and for the saving of much labour in making the index.

I have translated word for word in the most literal and exact way, my aim being as much to preserve the spirit as the sense and historical truths of the original. The spelling of proper names always presents a difficulty to the student of early English history. The majority of Anglo-Saxon personal names are dead and must always bear about them the flavour of the past, but more than a few have survived the Norman Conquest and lived on to our own times.

Alfred's Chronicle.



From the above we see that no one of our MSS. is a copy of another. Not even B may be neglected in the study of the chronicle, though it is but a mere pale reflection of C.

These latter are symbolic of the real continuity of English history, which certainly did not begin with William the conqueror; and I have therefore given them the familiar garb of modern spelling. The remainder are retained in the normal West-Saxon manner. The same principles have been followed with regard to place-names; wherever the identification of sites can be settled with certainty—and this fortunately applies to most cases—there has been no difficulty; wherever there is doubt or ignorance on the point, the original Anglo-Saxon form is given either in the text or in the index.

No attempt has been made to find a modern rendering for a few more or less technical expressions, *e.g.*, “fyrd,” “hold,” “huscarl,” “sac and soc,” “witan”; the reason whereof is that one cannot supply from the modern language words for the purpose of describing institutions and ideas no longer in existence. To do so would only mislead readers and create a false impression in their minds. A fruitless and ridiculous failure is achieved when one endeavours to read a modern novel in an Icelandic saga; and on the same grounds it must be borne in mind that no one can enjoy the early English chronicles who does not first realize that the social life of his ancestors differed fundamentally from that of the present day. For the sake of those who are not well versed in Anglo-Saxon history, I append here an explanation of the few Anglo-Saxon words which I have deemed necessary to retain in translation.

The “huscarls” were the king’s body-guard;

they formed a regular force of armed soldiers in contradistinction to the "fyrd" or levy of the people. The "butse-carls" stand in the same relation towards the ship-fyrd that the "huscarls" occupy towards the land-fyrd. The word "hold" occurs once or twice in the chronicles; the title was introduced by the Danes, and its exact significance is unknown. Equal ignorance must be professed about the precise meaning of "bone" in 1063 D; it referred to a certain part of a ship, beyond that we can say nothing. The "staller" (1047 D, 1067 D) was an officer of the royal household answering to the later constable or marshal. The "witan" were the wise men of the country, the chiefs temporal and spiritual who formed the highest council in the kingdom; the "witena-gemot" was a meeting of the wise men. The "geld" was a tax which originated in forced payments to the Danish invaders. A Scandinavian word "husting," is found on p. 119; it signifies a meeting or council. In the Peterborough insertion, under the year 963, p. 266, we find the phrase, "sac and soc"—the right of holding a court for criminal and civil affairs. Here is the total of untranslatable words. I will add that the ordinary word for Christmas found in the various texts is the old Teutonic and pre-Christian "Mid-winter"; under the Norman influence the modern phrase begins to come in and gradually prevails. With the twelfth century a third term makes its appearance, "Nativity."

A word must be said on the beginning of the year in the Anglo-Saxon chronicles; two modes of

reckoning are found side by side. The prevailing system is that which begins the year on December 25th; the most obvious examples of this are to be found in the later parts of MS. E, where the annals constantly open with the holding of the Christmas court. This reckoning differs only from our own in that the seven days, December 25th-December 31st, are dated one year later than in our system. The other method, viz., that of fixing the beginning of the year with Easter, presents a greater disarrangement, as Easter is a moveable feast. Hence certain days in March and April may in some cases occur twice over in the same year. In all instances of this reckoning, the chronicles are some three or four months behind our modern system.

The index has served more than its customary purpose; the student is advised to turn to its pages in order to identify the many names alike of persons and of places occurring—particularly in the early portion of the chronicle—without any indications by which one might specify or locate them.

THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE

[PARKER MS.¹]

IN the year, when was past from the birth of Christ four hundred and ninety-four winters, Cerdic and Cynric his son landed at Cerdicesora with five ships. And this Cerdic was son of Elesa, Elesa of Esla, Esla of Gewis, Gewis of Wig, Wig of Freawin, Freawin of Frithogar, Frithogar of Brand, Brand of Bældæg, Bældæg of Woden.

And about six years after they landed, they conquered the kingdom of the West-Saxons; and they were the first kings that conquered² the land of the West-Saxons from the Welsh. And he had the kingdom sixteen years; and when he died, his son Cynric succeeded to the kingdom and held³ it seventeen winters. When he died, Ceol succeeded to the kingdom and held it six⁴ years. When he died, Ceolwulf his brother succeeded and he reigned seventeen years; and their kin goes back to Cerdic. Then Cynegils, Ceolwulf's brother's son, succeeded to the kingdom and reigned thirty-one⁵ winters;

¹ Besides A this genealogical preface is only found in Cott. Tib. A, iii, f. 178, a single leaf which has been thought to have belonged originally to MS. B. I indicate the readings of this leaf by the letter P.

² Took from the Welsh.—P.

³ And held it twenty-six winters. When he died, Ceawlin his son succeeded thereto and held it seventeen years.—P.

⁴ Five.—P.

⁵ Twenty.—P.

and he first received baptism of the kings of the West-Saxons. And then Cenwalh succeeded and held the kingdom thirty-one winters; and this Cenwalh was son of Cynegils; and then Sexburg his queen held the kingdom one year after him. Then Æscwin succeeded to the kingdom, whose kin goes back to Cerdic, and held it two years. Then Centwin, son of Cynegils, succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons and reigned seven years.¹ Then Ceadwalla succeeded to the kingdom, whose kin goes back to Cerdic, and held it three years. Then Ine succeeded to the kingdom of the Saxons,² whose kin goes back to Cerdic, and held it thirty-seven winters. Then Æthelhard succeeded thereto, whose kin goes back to Cerdic, and held [the kingdom] fourteen winters.³ Then Cuthred succeeded, whose kin goes back to Cerdic, and held [the kingdom] seventeen years. Then Sigebert succeeded, whose kin goes back to Cerdic, and held [the kingdom] one year. Then Cynewulf succeeded to the kingdom, whose kin goes back to Cerdic, and held it thirty-one winters. Then Berhtric succeeded to the kingdom, whose kin goes back to Cerdic, and held it sixteen years. Then Egbert succeeded to the kingdom, and held it thirty-seven winters and seven months; and then Æthelwulf, his son, succeeded, and held [the kingdom] eighteen and a half years. This Æthelwulf was son of Egbert, Egbert of Ealhmund, Ealhmund of Eafa, Eafa of Eoppa, Eoppa of Ingild, Ingild of Cenred—and Ine of Cenred, and Cuthburg [daughter] of Cenred, and Cwenburg [daughter] of Cenred—Cenred of Ceolwald, Ceolwald of Cuthwulf, Cuthwulf of Cuthwin, Cuthwin of Celm, Celm of Cynric,⁴ Cynric of Cerdic.

And then Æthelbald his son succeeded to the kingdom and held it five years. Then Æthelbert his brother succeeded thereto and held [the kingdom] five years. Then Æthelred their brother succeeded to the kingdom and held it five years. Then Alfred their brother succeeded to the kingdom; and at the time were past twenty-

¹ Nine.—P.

² West-Saxons.—P.

³ Sixteen years.—P.

⁴ Cynric of Creoda, Creoda of Cerdic.—P.

three winters of his age and three hundred and ninety-six winters since first his kin conquered the land of the West-Saxons from the Welsh.¹

Sixty winters before Christ's incarnation, Gaius Julius the Emperor first of the Romans sought Briton-land; and crushed the Britons in battle and overcame them and nevertheless might not win a kingdom there.

[LAUD MS.]

THE island of Britain is eight hundred miles long and two hundred miles broad; and here in this island are five languages—English and British and Welsh and Scottish and Pictish and Book-Latin.² The first inhabitants of this land were Britons; they came from Armenia³ and first settled in the south of Britain. Then it befel that the Picts came from the south from Scythia with long ships—not many—and first landed in North Ireland and there entreated the Scots that they might dwell there. But they would not permit them for they said that they might not all dwell there together. And

¹ P omits the last sentence ("at the time . . . Welsh") and continues—and held [the kingdom] a year and a half less than thirty winters. Then Edward, son of Alfred, succeeded thereto and held it twenty-four winters. When he died, Æthelstan his son succeeded to [the kingdom] and held it fourteen years and seven weeks and three days. Then Edmund his brother succeeded thereto and held [the kingdom] six and a half years save two nights. Then Eadred his brother succeeded thereto, and held it nine years and six weeks. Then Eadwig, son of king Edmund, succeeded to [the kingdom] and held it three years and thirty-six weeks save two days. When he died, Edgar his brother succeeded thereto and held [the kingdom] sixteen years and eight weeks and two nights. When he died, Edward, son of Edgar, succeeded thereto, and held . . . The writing stops at the beginning of a line; so that there never was any more of this preface.

² Apparently six tongues are here enumerated; but possibly we are meant to understand only one language in "British and Welsh." MS. D has "English, Brito-Welsh, Scottish, Pictish, and Book-Latin." It is noteworthy that the Laud MS.—from which the above introduction is taken—has the phrase Brito-Welsh a little lower down. F follows E but omits "Book-Latin."

³ Misreading of Bede's *Armorica*; cf. note.

then the Scots said—we may nevertheless give you counsel; we know another island here to the east where you may take up your abode if you will, and if anyone withstand you, we will help you so that you may subdue it. Then fared the Picts and subdued the northern part of this land; the southern part the Britons had as we said before. And the Picts obtained them wives from the Scots on the condition¹ that they always chose their royal race on the woman's side—which they held so long afterwards. And then it happened, after a course of years, that some deal of the Scots departed from Ireland into Britain and conquered some portion of the land. And their leader was called Reoda, from whom they are named Dalreodi.

Sixty winters ere Christ was born, Gaius Julius, emperor of the Romans, with eighty ships sought Britain. There he was at first distressed by a fierce battle and lost a great deal of his host. And then he left his host to abide among the Scots² and departed into Gaul and there gathered six hundred ships with which he departed again into Britain. And as they first rushed together, the emperor's reeve was slain—he was named Labienus. Then the Welsh took great sharp piles³ and planted a certain river's ford entirely with them under the water—that river was called Thames. When the Romans discovered this, they would not fare over the ford. Then the Brito-Welsh fled to the wood-fastnesses;⁴ and the emperor conquered very many of the chief towns after great struggles and departed again into Gaul.

Anno

- 1 [A]. Octavianus reigned fifty-six winters; and in the forty-second year of his reign Christ was born.
- 2 [A]. The star-prophets came from the east for the purpose of worshipping Christ; and the children were

¹ Agreement.—F.

² This is an error, arising from inaccurately written MSS. of Bede; where "in Hibernia" occurs often for "in hiberna" (winter-quarters).

³ Stakes.—D.

⁴ Wood-wastes, *i.e.*, wild forests.—D.

slain in Bethlehem because of the persecution of Christ by Herod.¹

3 [A]. Here died Herod, having stabbed himself; and Archelaus his son succeeded to the realm.

3 [F]. Here Herod died, and the child Christ was carried back from Egypt.

6 [A]. From the beginning of the world to this year five thousand and two hundred winters were completed.²

11 [A]. Here Herod, son of Antipater, succeeded to the realm in Judea.

12 [A]. Philip and Herod divided Lysia and Judea into four realms.³

12 [E]. Philip and Herod divided Judea into four realms.

16 [A]. Here Tiberius succeeded to the realm.

26 [E]. Here Pilate began to rule over the Jews.⁴

30 [A]. Here Christ was baptized and Peter and Andrew converted and James and John and Philip and the twelve Apostles.

33 [A]. Here Christ was hanged—from the beginning of the world about five thousand, two hundred and twenty-six winters.

34 [A]. Here was Paul converted and St. Stephen stoned.

35 [A]. Here the blessed Peter the apostle established the bishop's see in the city of Antioch.

38 [F]. Here Pilate slew himself with his own hand.

39 [A]. Here Gaius succeeded to the realm.

40 [F]. Matthew in Judea began to write his gospel.

45 [A]. Here the blessed Peter the apostle established the bishop's see in Rome.⁵

45 [F]. Here James, brother of John, was slain by Herod.

¹ E continues—and he died, having stabbed himself; and Archelaus his son succeeded to the realm.

² Same annal entered under year 11 of MS. E.

³ Four tetrarchies.—F. This must rest on a misunderstanding of Luke iii; Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene being transferred into the county of Lycia.—Plummer.

⁴ Same annal entered under 27 A by a later hand.

⁵ Same annal under 44 F.

- 46 [A]. Here Herod died—he who slew James one year before his own death.
- 46 [F]. Here Claudius the emperor came to Britain and conquered a great deal of the island; and also the islands of Orkney he added to the dominion of the Romans.
- 47 [A]. Here Claudius, second of the kings of the Romans, sought Britain and brought under his power the most part of the island and also subjected the islands of Orkney to the kingdom of the Romans. This was in the fourth year of his reign, and in the same year was the great famine in Syria of which Luke tells in the book, Acts of the Apostles.
- 47 [E] Here Claudius, king of the Romans, departed with a host into Britain and subdued the island and subjected all the Picts and Welsh to the kingdom of the Romans. This war he waged in the fourth year of his reign. That year was the great famine in Syria which was foretold in the Acts of the Apostles by Agabus the prophet. Then Nero succeeded to the kingdom after Claudius, who nearly lost the island of Britain on account of his sloth.
- 47 [F]. Mark the Evangelist began to write his gospel in Egypt.
- 48 [F]. In this year was a very severe famine.
- 49 [F]. Here Nero began to reign.
- 50 [F]. Here Paul was sent in bonds to Rome.
- 62 [A]. Here James, frater Domini,¹ suffered [martyrdom].
- 63 [A]. Here Mark the Evangelist died.
- 69 [A]. Here Peter and Paul suffered [martyrdom].
- 69 [F]. Here Peter suffered on the cross and Paul was slain (beheaded). . . .
- 70 [A]. Here Vespasian succeeded to the realm.
- 71 [A]. Here Titus, son of Vespasian, slew one hundred and eleven thousand Jews in Jerusalem.
- 81 [A]. Here Titus succeeded to the realm—he who said that he lost the day on which he did no good.

¹ Christ's brother.—F.

- 84¹ [A]. Here Domitian, brother of Titus, succeeded to the realm.
- 87¹ [A]. Here John the Evangelist wrote the book of Apocalypse on the island of Patmos.
- 99² [A]. Here Simon the Apostle³ was hanged, and John the Evangelist rested him in Ephesus.⁴
- 101 [A]. Here Pope Clement died.
- 110 [A]. Here bishop Ignatius suffered [martyrdom].
- 114 [E]. Alexander hic constituit aquam benedictam fieri.
- 116 [F]. Here Adrian the emperor began to reign.
- 124 [E]. Sixtus papa hic constituit ymnum decantare. Scs. Scs. Scs. in officio missae.
- 134 [E]. Telesphorus papa hic constituit ymnum angelicum cantari Gloria in Excelsis Deo diebus festis.
- 155 [A]. Here Marcus Antoninus and Aurelius his brother succeeded to the realm.
- 167 [A]. Here Eleutherius succeeded to the bishopric in Rome and held it gloriously⁵ for fifteen winters. To him Lucius king of Britain sent letters praying that he might be made a Christian; and he fulfilled what he requested. And afterwards they continued in the right faith until the reign of Diocletian.
- 167 [E]. Here Eleutherius succeeded to the bishopric in Rome and held it worthily for fifteen winters. To him Lucius, king of the Brito-Welsh, sent men and prayed for baptism; and straightway he sent to him; and afterwards they continued in the right faith until the reign of Diocletian. ✓
- 189 [A]. Here Severus succeeded to the realm and reigned seventeen winters. He surrounded Britain with a dike from sea to sea, and then ended his days at York; and Bassianus his son succeeded to the realm.
- 189 [E]. Here Severus succeeded to the realm and fared with a host into Britain and subdued a great part of the island by battle; and then for the protection of the Britons he wrought a wall of turf, and a rampart

¹ Altered in MS. A from 83 and 84 respectively.

² 100 E.

³ Christ's kinsman.—F.

⁴ On that day—add B, C.

⁵ Viriliter regit.—F Lat.

of wood on the top thereof, from sea to sea. He reigned seventeen years and then ended his days at York. Bassianus his son succeeded to the realm; another of his sons was named Geta, who died.

200 [A]. Two hundred years.

200 [F]. In this year was found the holy rood.

202 [E]. Victor papa hic constituit ut Pascha die dominico celebretur, sicut predecessor ejus Eleutherius.

254 [E]. Cornelius papa hic de catacumbas levavit per noctem corpora apostolorum et posuit Pauli quidem via Ostensi ubi decollatus est. Petri autem juxta locum ubi crucifixus est.

286 [E]. Here St. Alban martyr suffered.¹

300 [A]. Three hundred years.

311 [E]. Scs. Silvester papa xxiii. Hujus tempore celebratur Nicenum concilium. Arelatense quoque primum, in quo fuit Auitianus Rotomagi archiepiscopus.

379 [A]. Here Gratian succeeded to the realm.

379 [E]. Hoc tempore celebratur Constantinopolitanum concilium cl. patrum adversus Macedonum et Eunomium sub Damaso.

381 [A]. Here Maximus the emperor succeeded to the realm; he was born in Britain and thence he fared into Gaul. And there he slew the emperor Gratian and drove his brother who was called Valentinian out of the country. And this Valentinian afterwards gathered an army and slew Maximus and succeeded to the realm. At that time the heresy of Pelagius arose throughout the world.

403 [E]. Innocentius papa hic misit decretalem epistolam Victicio Rotomagensi archiepiscopo. Hic constituit sabbato ieiunare quia eo die Dominus jacuit in sepulchro.

409 [E]. Here the city of the Romans was stormed by the Goths about eleven hundred and ten winters after it was built. The kings of the Romans did not reign long after that in Britain. Altogether they ruled in

¹ 283 A by a later hand.

Britain four hundred and seventy winters since Caius Julius first sought the land.

409 [A]. Here the Goths took the city of Rome by storm and never since have the Romans ruled in Britain, this was about eleven hundred and ten winters after it was built. Altogether they ruled in Britain four hundred and seventy winters since Caius Julius first sought the land.

418 [A]. Here the Romans collected all the gold-hoards that were in Britain and some they hid in the earth so that no one might afterwards find them; and others they carried with them into Gaul.

423 [A]. Here Theodosius the younger succeeded to the realm.

425 [E]. *Hujus temporis aetate extitit exordium regum Francorum, primus Faramundus.*

430 [A]. Here Palladius¹ the bishop was sent to the Scots by Celestinus the pope that he might confirm their faith. ✓

430 [E]. Here Patrick was sent by Celestinus the pope to preach baptism to the Scots.

431 [E]. *Hoc tempore diabolus in Creta Judeis in specie Moysi apparens ad terram repromissionis per mare pede sicco perducere promittit; sicque plurimis necatis reliqui ad Xpi gratiam convertuntur.*

433 [E]. Celestinus papa: *hujus tempore aggregata est Ephesina synodus ducentorum episcopum, cui preluit Cirillus Alexandrinus presul adversus Nestorium Constantinopolitanum episcopum.*

439 [E]. Leo papa: *hic sancivit Calcedonensem Sinodum.*

443 [A]. Here the Britons sent [over sea]² to Rome and begged for their help against the Picts, but they had none there because they were warring against Attila king of the Huns. And then they sent to the Angles and entreated the like of the athelings of the Angle-race.

444 [F]. Here died St. Martin.

¹ Or Patrick—written above by a later hand.

² MS. E.

449 [A]. Here Mauricius¹ and Valentinus succeeded to the realm and reigned seven winters. And in their days Hengist and Horsa, invited by Wyrtegeorn king of the Britons, sought Britain on the shore which is called Ebbsfleet—at first in aid of the Britons, but afterwards they fought against them. The king commanded them to fight against the Picts and so they did, and had the victory wheresoever they came. Then they sent to Anglia and bade more reinforcements be sent to them and bade them be told of the worthlessness of the Britons and the excellencies of the land. Then they sent them more reinforcements. At that time came the men from three tribes of Germany—from the Old-Saxons, from the Angles, from the Jutes. From the Jutes came the Kentish-men and the Wightware, that is, the tribe which now inhabits the Isle of Wight, and that race among the West-Saxons which is yet called the race of the Jutes. From the old-Saxons came East-Saxons and South-Saxons and West-Saxons. From Anglia—which has ever since stood waste between the Jutes and the Saxons—came East-Angles, Middle-Angles, Mercians and all the Northumbrians.

✓ 449 [E]. Hujus tempore celebratur Calcedonense concilium dcxxx episcoporum adversus Euticem abbatem et Dioscorum. Here Martianus ad Valentinus succeeded to the realm and reigned seven winters. And in their days Wyrtegeorn invited the Angle-race hither and they came in three keels hither to Britain at the stead [called] Ebbsfleet. The king Wyrtegeorn gave them land in the south-east of this country on condition that they should fight against the Picts. Then they fought against the Picts and had the victory wheresoever they came. Then they sent to Anglia, bade more reinforcements be sent to them and bade them be told of the worthlessness of the Britons and the excellencies of the land. Straightway they sent hither a larger force to the aid of the others.

¹ So MSS. B and C; cf. MS. E and F.

Then came the men from three tribes of Germany—from the Old-Saxons, from the Angles, from the Jutes. From the Jutes came the Kentish-men and the Wightware, that is, the tribe which now inhabits the isle of Wight, and that race among the West-Saxons which is yet called the race of the Jutes. From the Old-Saxons came East-Saxons and South-Saxons and West-Saxons. From Anglia—which has ever since stood waste between the Jutes and the Saxons—came East-Angles, Middle-Angles, Mercians and all the Northumbrians. Their leaders were two brothers, Hengist and Horsa—they were sons of Wihtgils: Wihtgils was son of Witta, Witta of Wecta, Wecta of Woden: from this Woden sprang all our royal race and that of the Southumbrians also.

448 [F]. Here John baptist revealed his head to two monks, who came from the east to offer up their prayers in Jerusalem, on the spot which was whilome Herod's dwelling. In the same time Martianus and Valentinus reigned, and in that time came the Angle-race to this land, invited by king Wyrtegeorn, in order to help him overcome his foes. They came to this land with three long ships and their leaders were Hengist and Horsa: first of all they slew the king's foes and drove them away and afterwards they turned against the king and against the Britons and destroyed them with fire and sword's edge.

455 [A] Here Hengist and Horsa fought against Wyrtegeorn the king at the place which is called Ægeles-threp¹ and his brother Horsa was slain and after that Hengist succeeded to the kingdom and Æsc his son.

457 [A]. Here Hengist and Æsc fought against the Britons at the place which is called Crecganford (Crayford), and there slew four thousand men: and then the Britons forsook Kent-land and in great fear fled to London.²

465 [A]. Here Hengist and Æsc fought against the Welsh near Wippedsfleet and there slew twelve

¹ W has Ægeles-ford, which = Aylesford.

² 456 E.

Welsh aldormen; and one of their thegns was slain whose name was Wipped.

473 [A]. Here Hengist and Æsc fought against the Welsh and took spoils innumerable; and the Welsh fled from the Angles like fire.¹

477 [A]. Here Ælle and his three sons, Cymen and Wlencing and Cissa, came to Britain with three ships at the place, which is named Cymenes-ora [Shoreham?], and there slew many Welsh and some they drove in flight into the wood that is named Andred's-lea.

482 [F]. Here the blessed abbot Benedict, by the glory of his miracles, shone in this world as the blessed Gregory relates in his book of Dialogues.

485 [A]. Here Ælle fought against the Welsh near the bank of Mearc-crædsburn.

488 [A]. Here Æsc succeeded to the kingdom and was king of the Kentish-men twenty-four winters.

490 [E]. Hoc tempore beatus Mamertus, episcopus Viennensis, solennes letanias instituit rogationum.

491 [A]. Here Ælle and Cissa besieged Andredescester and slew all that dwelt therein—not even a single Briton was left.

495 [A]. Here two aldormen came to Britain, Cerdic and Cynric his son, with five ships at the place which is called Cerdices-ora [Charford], and the same day they fought against the Welsh.

501 [A]. Here Port and his two sons, Bieda and Mægla, came to Britain with two ships at the place which is called Portsmouth [and straightway landed]² and slew a young British man of high nobility.

508 [A]. Here Cerdic and Cynric slew a British king, whose name was Natan-leod, and five thousand men with him. After that the country was named Natan-lea [Netley] as far as Cerdicesford [Charford].

509 [F]. Here St. Benedict the abbot, father of all monks, fared to heaven.

514 [A]. Here came the West-Saxons, Stuf and Wiht-

¹ As one flees fire.—F. Most vehemently.—E.

² MS. E.

gar, to Britain with three ships at a place which is called Cerdices-ora; and they fought against the Britons and put them to flight.

514 [E]. Here the West-Saxons came to Britain with three ships at the place which is called Cerdices-ora; and Stuf and Wihtgar fought against the Britons and put them to flight.

519 [A]. Here Cerdic and Cynric succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons; and the same year they fought against the Britons where it is now named Cerdicesford. And from that day forth the royal offspring of the West-Saxons have reigned.

527 [A]. Here Cerdic and Cynric fought against the Britons at the place which is called Cerdices-lea.

528 [E]. Hoc tempore Dionisius in urbe R. circulum paschalem composuit. Tunc Priscianus profunda grammatica rimatus est.

530 [A]. Here Cerdic and Cynric conquered the island of Wight and slew many men at Wihtgarasburg [Carisbrooke].

534 [A]. Here Cerdic died and Cynric his son reigned from that time twenty-six winters; and they gave the whole island of Wight to their two nephews, Stuf and Wihtgar.

538 [A]. Here, fourteen days before the kalends of March (Feb. 16th), the sun was eclipsed from early morning till nine of the clock.

540 [A]. Here the sun was eclipsed on xii kal. July (June 20th) and the stars showed themselves full-nigh half an hour after nine of the clock.

544 [A]. Here Wihtgar died and was buried in Wihtgarasburg [Carisbrooke].

547 [A]. Here Ida succeeded to the kingdom, from whom arose the royal race of the Northumbrians: and he reigned twelve years and built Bamborough, which was at first enclosed by a hedge and afterwards by a wall. Ida was son of Eoppa, Eoppa of Esa, Esa of Ingui, Ingui of Angenwit, Angenwit of Aloc, Aloc of Benoc, Benoc of Brand, Brand of Bældæg, Bældæg of Woden, Woden of Freotholaf, Freotholaf of Freotho-

wulf, Freothowulf of Finn, Finn of Godwulf, Godwulf of Geat.

552 [A]. Here Cynric fought against the Britons at the place which is called Searo-burg (Salisbury) and put the Britons to flight. Cerdic was Cynric's father: Cerdic was son of Elesa, Elesa of Esla, Esla of Gewis, Gewis of Wig, Wig of Freawin, Freawin of Frithogar, Frithogar of Brand, Brand of Bældæg, Bældæg of Woden.

552 [F]. Here Cynric fought against the Britons at the place which is called Salisbury, and Æthelbert, son of Eormenric, was born on the . . . and in the . . . year of his reign he received baptism, the first of the kings in Britain.

556 [A]. Here Cynric and Ceawlin fought against the Britons at Beran-bury [Barbury].

560 [A]. Here Ceawlin succeeded to the kingdom among the West-Saxons, and Ida being dead Ælle succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians,¹ each of whom reigned thirty-one winters. Ælle was son of Yffe, Yffe of Uxfrea, Uxfrea of Wilgisl, Wilgisl of Westerfalca. Westerfalca of Sæfugl, Sæfugl of Sæbald, Sæbald of Sige-geat, Sige-geat of Swebdæg, Swebdæg of Sige-gar, Sige-gar of Wæg-dæg, Wæg-dæg of Woden, Woden of Frithowulf.

✓ 565 [A]. Here Æthelbert succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentishmen and held it fifty-three winters. In his days Gregory sent us baptism;² and Columba mass-priest came to the Picts and converted them to Christ's faith; they are dwellers by the northern mountains. And their king gave him the island which is called Iona; therein are five hides of land as men say. There Columba built a monastery and he was abbot there thirty-two winters and there he died when he was seventy-seven winters old. His heirs still have the place. The Southern Picts had been baptized long before; bishop Ninias, who had been instructed at

¹ And held it thirty winters.—B, C.

² That was in the thirty-second year of his reign.—F.

Rome, had preached baptism to them, whose church and monastery is at Whithorn, consecrated in the name of St. Martin; there he rests with many holy men. Now in Iona must ever be an abbot—not a bishop; and all the Scottish bishops must be subject to him because Columba was an abbot—not a bishop.¹

568 [A]. Here Ceawlin and Cutha, Ceawlin's brother, fought against Æthelbert and drove him into Kent: and they killed two aldormen at Wibbandun [Wimbleton], Oslaf and Cnebba.

571 [A]. Here Cuthwulf² fought against the Britons at Bedford and took four towns, Lenbury and Aylesbury and Bensington and Eynsham; and the same year he died.

577 [A]. Here Cuthwin and Ceawlin fought against the Britons, and they slew three kings, Coinmail and Condidan and Jarinmail, at a place which is called Deorham [Dyrham] and took three cities from them, Gloucester and Cirencester and Bath.

583 [A]. Here Mauricius succeeded to the realm of the Romans.

584 [A]. Here Ceawlin and Cutha fought against the Britons at the place which is called Fethanleag [Fad-diley] and Cutha was slain; and Ceawlin took many villages and spoils innumerable and in wrath returned thence to his own.

588 [A]. Here king Ælle died and Æthelric reigned after him five years.

591 [A]. Here Ceol reigned five³ years.

592 [A]. Here was a great slaughter at Woddesbeorg

¹ This annal—word for word identical with 565 E—is the addition of a later hand in A, whose original entry runs as follows: Here Columba presbyter came from the Scots to Britain in order to teach the Picts, and he built a monastery in the island of Iona.

² E has Cutha instead of Cuthwulf; and tacks on to the end of the annal—This Cutha was Ceawlin's brother.

³ Altered by later hand to six. "591 E. Here Ceolric reigned six years. Gregorius papa hic augmentavit in predicatione canonem: Diesque nostros in tua pace disponas."

(Wanborough) and Ceawlin was expelled and Gregory succeeded to the popedom in Rome.¹

593 [A]. Here Ceawlin and Cwichelm and Crida perished; and Æthelfrith succeeded to the kingdom amongst the Northumbrians; [he was son of Æthelric, Æthelric of Ida].²

596 [E]. Hoc tempore monasterium sancti Benedicti a Longobardis destructum est. Here pope Gregory sent to Britain Augustin with very many monks who preached God's word to the people of the Angles.³

597 [A]. Here Ceolwulf began to reign amongst the West-Saxons; and he fought and won incessantly against either the race of the Angles or the Welsh or the Picts or the Scots. He was son of Cutha, Cutha of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic, Cerdic of Elesa, Elesa of Esla, Esla of Gewis, Gewis of Wig, Wig of Freawin, Freawin of Frithugar, Frithugar of Brand, Brand of Bældæg, Bældæg of Woden.

✓ 601 [A]. Here Pope Gregory sent a pall to archbishop Augustin in Britain and a great many religious teachers to assist him;⁴ and bishop Paulinus converted Edwin king of the Northumbrians to baptism.

603 [A]. Here was a battle at Egesanstan.

603 [E]. Here Ægthan king of Scots fought against the Dalreodi and against Æthelfrith king of the Northumbrians at Dægsanstan [Ægthanstan?] and they slew nearly all his host. There Theodbald, brother of Æthelfrith, was slain with all his band. Since then no king of Scots dared lead a host against this people. Hering, son of Hussa, led the host [of the enemy] thither.

¹ 592 E. Here Gregory succeeded to the popedom in Rome. And this year was a great slaughter in Britain at Wodnesbeorg and Ceawlin was expelled.

² MS. E.

³ Same entry—without the Latin sentence—in MS. 595 A, written on erasure; but probably all that the scribe has done is to transfer the entry from 596 to 595. B and C have it under 596. ⁴ 597 F. Here came Augustin and his companions to England: plus minus centesimo quinquagesimo adventus Anglorum in Britannia."

⁴ And amongst them was Paulinus.—F interlined.

604 [A]. Here the East-Saxons received the faith and the bath of baptism under king Sæbert and bishop Mellitus.

604 [B]. Here Augustin consecrated two bishops, Mellitus and Justus. He sent Mellitus to preach baptism to the East-Saxons; there was the king named Sæbert, son of Ricola, Æthelbert's daughter, whom Æthelbert had appointed king there. And Æthelbert gave Mellitus a bishop's see in London and to Justus he gave Rochester which is twenty-four miles from Dorwitceaster (*i.e.* Canterbury).

606 [A]. Here pope Gregory died about ten years after he sent us baptism: [his father was called Gordian and his mother Silvia].¹

607 [A]. Here Ceolwulf fought against the South-Saxons. And here Æthelfrith led his fyrd to Chester and slew there numberless Welshmen; and so was fulfilled Augustin's prophecy which he spake—if the Welsh refuse peace with us, they shall perish at the hands of the Saxons. There also were slain two hundred priests who came thither to pray for the host of the Welsh: their leader was called Scrocmail [*i.e.* Brocmail] who—one of fifty—escaped thence.²

611 [A]. Here Cynegils succeeded to the kingdom amongst the West-Saxons and held it thirty-one winters: this Cynegils was son of Ceol, Ceol of Cutha, Cutha of Cynric.

614 [A]. Here Cynegils and Cwichelm fought at Beandun [Bampton], and slew two thousand and sixty-five Welshmen.

614 [F]. . . . Laurentius became archbishop whom Augustin on account of his holy life . . . should be archbishop.³

616 [A]. Here died Æthelbert, king of the Kentishmen; [he reigned fifty-six winters, and after him]⁴

¹ B, C add.

² E places this account of the battle of Chester under the year 605 after the simple announcement of Gregory's death:—Here died Pope Gregory.

³ Cropped by the binder.

Eadbald his son succeeded to the kingdom.¹ He forsook his baptismal vow and lived in heathen custom so that he had his father's widow to wife. Then Laurentius, who was archbishop in Kent, was minded that he would depart south over sea and leave it all. But the apostle Peter came to him by night and scourged him sorely because he would forsake God's flock and bade him go to the king and preach the true faith to him; and he did so and the king was converted and baptized. In this king's days died Laurentius, who was archbishop in Kent after Augustin died, and was buried beside Augustin on the day iv. non. Feb. (Feb. 2nd). After him Mellitus, who before was bishop in London, succeeded to the archbishopric; [at that time the men of London, where Mellitus had been before, were heathens].² And³ within five winters Mellitus died. Then after him Justus succeeded to the archbishopric, who was bishop of Rochester; and he consecrated Romanus as bishop thereto.

616 [F]. Here died Æthelbert, king of the Kentishmen (who first of English kings received baptism and he was son of Eormenric) who reigned fifty-three winters. After him Eadbald his son succeeded to the kingdom; he forsook his Christianity so that he had his father's widow to wife. In that time Laurentius was archbishop and for the sorrowfulness that he had on account of the king's unbelief, he was minded to abandon all this country and fare over sea, but St. Peter the apostle scourged him sorely one night because he would thus forsake God's flock and bade him teach boldly the true faith to the king; and he did so and the king turned to right. In the days of this same king Eadbald this same Laurentius died. The holy

¹ And from the beginning of the world to this same year five thousand and eight hundred winters were past.—B, C add. And six hundred and sixteen winters.—W.

² MS. E.

³ And in about five winters, during the reign of Eadbald, Mellitus fared to Christ. Then after him Justus succeeded to the archbishopric; and he consecrated Romanus to Rochester where before himself had been bishop.—E.

Augustin, while in sound health, consecrated him bishop in order that the church of Christ, which was yet new in England, should not be at any time after his decease without an archbishop. Then after him Mellitus, who before was bishop in London, succeeded to the archbishopric. And within five years of the decease of Laurentius, while Eadbald still reigned, Mellitus fared to Christ.

617 [E]. Here Æthelfrith, king of the Northumbrians, was slain by Redwald, king of the East-Angles, and Edwin son of Ælle succeeded to the kingdom and subdued all Britain save the Kentish-men alone. And he drove out the athelings, sons of Æthelfrith, that is first Eanfrith, Oswald and Oswy, Oslac, Oswudu, Oslaf and Offa.

619 [F]. Here archbishop Laurentius died.

624 [E]. Here archbishop Mellitus died.

625 [A]. Here Paulinus was consecrated bishop to the Northumbrians by Justus the archbishop.

625 [E]. Here archbishop Justus consecrated Paulinus as bishop¹ on xii Kal. Aug. (July 21st). *Hic ciclus Dionisii quinque decennouenalibus constans, hoc est xcv annis, sumitque exordium á xxxº anno Incarnationis Domini, et desinit in dc. xxvi anno. Hic ordo decennouenalis quem Graeci Ennia kaith Johannes papa Kaderida vocat, á Scis patribus in Nicea Sinodo fuit constitutus, in quo xiv luna Paschalis omni anno sine ulla dubitatione.*

626 [A]. Here Eanfled, daughter of king Edwin, was baptized on the holy eve of Pentecost (June 8th). And Penda had the kingdom for thirty winters; and he was fifty winters old when he succeeded to the kingdom. [Penda was son of Pybba, Pybba of Creoda, Creoda of Cynewald, Cynewald of Cnebba,² Cnebba of Icel, Icel of Eomær, Eomær of Angeltheow, Angeltheow of Offa, Offa of Wærmund, Wærmund of Wihtlæg, Wihtlæg of Woden.].

¹ Archbishop.—F.

² Of Wybba, Wybba of Cryda, Cryda of Cynewald.—W.

- 626 [E]. Here Eomer came from Cwichelm king of the West-Saxons, thinking that he would stab king Edwin. But he stabbed Lilla his thegn and Forth-here and wounded the king. And on the same night was a daughter born to Edwin: she was named Eanfled. Then the king made a vow to Paulinus that he would give his daughter to God if he would obtain of God that he might kill his foe who had sent the assassin. And then he fared with a fyrd against the West-Saxons and killed there five kings and slew a number of the folk. And at Pentecost Paulinus baptized his daughter with eleven others. And within a twelve-month the king with all his nobility was baptized at Easter; that year Easter was on ii id. April (April 12th). This was done in York, where first he ordered a church to be built of wood, which was consecrated in the name of St. Peter. There the king gave Paulinus a bishop's see and there he afterwards ordered a larger church to be built of stone. And here Penda succeeded to the kingdom and reigned thirty winters.
- 627 [A]. Here king Edwin was baptized with his people at Easter.
- 627 [E]. Here king Edwin was baptized by Paulinus, and this Paulinus also preached baptism in Lindsey where the first who believed was a certain great man called Blecca with all his followers. And in this time Honorius, who sent Paulinus hither a pall, succeeded to the popedom after Boniface. And archbishop Justus died on iv id. November (Nov. 10th) and Honorius was consecrated by Paulinus in Lincoln. And to this Honorius the pope also sent a pall; and he sent a letter to the Scots that they should turn to the right Easter.
- 628 [A]. Here Cynegils and Cwichelm fought against Penda at Cirencester and then came to an agreement.
- 632 [A]. Here Eorpwald was baptized.
- 633 [A]. Here Edwin was slain, and Paulinus hastened back to the Kentish-men and occupied the bishop's see in Rochester.
- 633 [E]. Here king Edwin was slain by Cadwalla and

Penda at Heathfield [Hatfield Chase?] on ii id. Oct. (Oct. 14th), and he reigned seventeen¹ years; and his son Osfrith was also slain with him. And after that Cadwalla and Penda fared and laid waste the whole land of the Northumbrians. When Paulinus saw that, he took Æthelburg, Edwin's widow, and departed in a ship to Kent. And Eadbald and Honorius received him very honourably and gave him a bishop's see in Rochester; and he dwelt there till his end.

634 [A]. Here bishop Birinus preached baptism to the West-Saxons.

634 [E]. Here Osric, whom before Paulinus had baptized, succeeded to the Deira-kingdom; he was son of Ælfric, Edwin's father's son. And Eanfrith, son of Æthelfrith, succeeded to the Bernicians. And here also bishop Birinus first preached baptism to the West-Saxons under king Cynegils. This Birinus came thither by command of Honorius the pope, and there he was bishop until his life's end. And here also Oswald succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians, and he reigned nine winters, the ninth being numbered to him on account of the heathenism which they² practised, who reigned the one year between him and Edwin.

635 [A]. Here Cynegils was baptized by Birinus the bishop in Dorchester, and Oswald [king of the Northumbrians]³ was his sponsor.

636 [A]. Here Cwichelm was baptized in Dorchester and the same year he died. And bishop Felix preached Christ's faith to the East-Angles.

636 [F]. Hic de Burgundiæ partibus venit episcopus quidam nomine Felix, qui predicavit fidem populis Orientalium Anglorum, hic accersitus a Sigeberto rege suscipere episcopatus in Domnoc: in quo sedit xvii annis.

639 [A]. Here Birinus baptized Cuthred in Dorchester and received him as his son.

¹ MS has seven—scribal error doubtless.

² I.e., kings Osric and Eanfrith mentioned above.

³ MS. E.

- 639 [E].¹ Here Eadbald, king of the Kentish-men, died: he was king twenty-four winters. Then his son Ercenbert succeeded to the kingdom; he overthrew all idolatry in his kingdom and was the first of English kings to establish the Easter-fast. His daughter was named Ercongota, a holy woman and wondrous person, whose mother was Sexburg, daughter of Onna king of the East-Angles.
- 640 [A]. Here Eadbald, king of the Kentish-men, died and he reigned twenty-five winters.² He had two sons, Ermenred and Ercenbert; and there Ercenbert reigned after his father. And Ermenred begat two sons, who were afterwards martyred by Thunor.
- 641 [E].³ Here Oswald king of the Northumbrians was slain by Penda the Southumbrian at Maserfield on the nones of August (Aug. 5th), and his body was buried at Bardney. His holiness and miracles were afterwards manifested in various ways throughout this island and his hands are at Bamborough uncorrupted. And here Cenwalh succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons⁴ and held it twenty-one winters; this Cenwalh bade the church be built in Winchester and he was son of Cynegils. And the same year, that Oswald was slain, Oswy his brother succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians and he reigned two less than thirty years.
- 642 [A]. Here Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, was slain.
- 643 [A]. Here Cenwalh succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons and held it thirty-one years; and this Cenwalh bade the church⁵ in Winchester to be built.
- 643 [E]. Here died Paulinus archbishop in York vi id. Oct. (Oct. 10th) who was bishop one less than twenty winters and two months and twenty-one days. And

¹ So E against all other MSS. ² So B, C; twenty-four.—F.

³ B, C place Oswald's death and Cenwalh's succession in 641, but the building of the *old* church at Winchester under 642.

⁴ In Wessex.—F.

⁵ The church in Winchester in St. Peter's name.—F. The old church.—B, C.

here Oswin, son of Osric, Edwin's father's brother's son, succeeded to the kingdom of the Deirans and reigned seven winters.

644 [A]. Here Paulinus died, who was archbishop in York and afterwards in Rochester.

645 [A]. Here Cenwalh was expelled by king Penda.¹

646 [A].² Here Cenwalh was baptized.

648 [A]. Here Cenwalh gave Cuthred³ his kinsman three thousand [hides] of land near Ashdown; this Cuthred was son of Cwichehm, Cwichehm of Cynegils.

648 [F]. Here was built the church in Winchester which king Cenwalh caused to be made and consecrated in St. Peter's name.

650 [A]. Here Ægelbert from Gaul succeeded to the bishopric of the West-Saxons⁴ after Birinus the Roman bishop.

650 [E]. Here king Oswy commanded king Oswin to be slain on xiii kal. Sept. (Aug. 20th) and about twelve nights after bishop Aidan died on ii kal. Sept. (Aug. 31st).

651 [A]. Here king Oswin was slain and bishop Aidan died.

652 [A]. Here Cenwalh fought at Bradford on Avon.

653 [A]. Here the Middle-Saxons⁵ received the true faith under aldorman Peada.

654 [A]. Here king Onna was slain and Botulf began to build a church at Icanho; [and here died archbishop Honorius on ii kal. Oct. (Sept. 30th)].⁶

655 [A]. Here Penda perished and the Mercians became Christian. At that time from the beginning of the world five thousand eight hundred and fifty winters were gone; and Peada, son of Penda, succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians.

¹ From his kingdom—E, which places event in 644. ² E.

³ 648 E. Here Cenwalh gave Eadred, his kinsman, three thousand [hides] of land near Ashdown.

⁴ Of the Saxons—E, which places event under 649.

⁵ Middle Angles.—B, C and E. The last-named MS. puts event in previous year.

⁶ E, which puts annal in 653.

654 [E]. Here Oswy slew Penda in Winwæd-field and thirty men of royal kin with him—and some of them were kings, of whom one was Æthelhere, brother of Onna, kings of the East-Angles. At that time were gone from the beginning of the world five thousand and eight hundred winters; and Peada, son of Penda, succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians.

In¹ his time he and Oswy, brother of king Oswald, came together and decided that they would raise a monastery to the glory of Christ and to the honour of St. Peter. And they did so and gave it for a name Medeshamstead because there is a well at this place called Medeswell. And they began the foundations and wrought thereon and then committed it to a monk who was called Saxulf. He was greatly God's friend and all people loved him and he was very nobly born in the world and rich, but he is now much richer with Christ.

And king Peada reigned no long time for he was betrayed by his own wife at Easter-tide.

655 [E]. Here Ithamar bishop of Rochester consecrated Deusdedit to Canterbury on vii kal. April (Mar. 26th).

656 [E]. Here Peada was slain and Wulfhere, son of Penda, succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians.

In his time² the abbacy of Medeshamstead, which his brother had begun, waxed very rich. The king favoured it much for love of his brother Peada and for love of Oswy his pledge-brother and for love of abbot Saxulf. He said that he would dignify and honour it by the counsel of Æthelred and Merwala his brothers and by the counsel of Cyneburg and Cyneswith his sisters and by the counsel of the archbishop who was called Deusdedit and by the counsel of all his witan, clerical and lay, who were in his kingdom; and he did so.

Then the king sent after the abbot that he should

¹ This is the first of many late additions to the chronicle concerning the monastery of Peterborough. They occur only in the Laud MS.

² The second of the Peterborough insertions.

come to him with all speed; and he did so. Then the king said to the abbot "Lo! I have sent for thee, beloved Saxulf, for the behoof of my soul and I will plainly tell thee why. My brother Peada and my dear friend Oswy began a monastery to the glory of Christ and St. Peter. But my brother, as Christ has willed it, is departed this life, and lo! my prayer to thee is, beloved friend, that they work diligently at the building and I will find thee gold and silver, land and possessions, and all that behoveth thereto." Then the abbot went home and began to build: he so sped, as Christ granted him, that in a few years the monastery was ready. When the king heard that said, he was very glad; he bade send throughout the nation after all his thegns, after the archbishop and after the bishops and after his earls and after all who loved God that they should come to him; and he set a day on which the monastery was to be consecrated.

At the consecration of the monastery king Wulfhere was present and his brother Æthelred and his sisters Cyneburg and Cyneswith. And the archbishop Deusdedit of Canterbury consecrated the monastery and the bishop of Rochester, Ithamar, and the bishop of London who was called Wine and the bishop of the Mercians who was called Jaruman and bishop Tuda. And there was Wilfrid priest who was afterwards bishop; and all his thegns who were in his kingdom were there.

When the monastery had been consecrated in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul and St. Andrew, then the king stood up before all his thegns and said with a clear voice "Thanked be the high almighty God for the worthy deed which is done here and I will this day do honour to Christ and St. Peter; and I desire that ye all assent to my words—I, Wulfhere, do this day give to St. Peter and abbot Saxulf and the monks of the monastery these lands and these waters and meres and fens and wears and all the lands which lie thereabout, which are of my kingdom, freely so that none but the abbot and the monks shall have any

authority there. This is the grant. From Medeshamstead to Northborough and thence to the place which is called Folies and thence all the fen straight to Esendic and from Esendic to the place which is called Fethermouth and thence along the straight way ten miles to Cuggedic and thence to Raggewith and from Raggewith five miles to the straight stream which goeth to Elm and to Wisbech and thence about three miles to Throkenholt and from Throkenholt straight through all the fen to Derworth which is twenty miles long and thence to Great Cross and from Great Cross through a clear water called Bradanee and thence six miles to Paccelad and thence onward through all the meres and fens which lie toward Huntingdonport and these meres and lakes, Scælfre-mere and Witles-mere and all the others which lie thereabout with the land and the houses which are on the east half of Scælfre-mere, and from thence all the fens to Medeshamstead and from Medeshamstead to Welmsford and from Welmsford to Cliue and thence to Aston and from Aston to Stamford and from Stamford even as the water runneth to the aforesaid Northborough." These are the lands and the fens which the king gave to St. Peter's monastery.

Then said the king "This gift is little; but I will that they shall hold it so royally and so freely that neither tax nor rent be taken from it save for the monks alone. And thus I will free this monastery that it be not subject save to Rome alone; and here I will that all of us who are unable to go to Rome shall visit St. Peter."

While he was saying these words, the abbot desired of him that he would grant him what he should desire of him: and the king granted it. "I have here God-fearing monks who wish to spend their lives as anchorites—if they knew where. And there is an island here which is called Ancarig, and my desire is that we might build a monastery there to the glory of St. Mary so that those may dwell therein who wish to lead life in peace and rest."

Then the king answered and said thus: "Behold, Saxulf, not only that which thou desiredst but all things, which I know thee to desire on our Lord's behalf, I thus approve and grant. And I beg of thee, my brother Æthelred, and my sisters, Cyneburg and Cyneswith, for your souls' redemption that ye be witnesses and that ye write it with your fingers. And I beg all those who come after me—be they my sons, be they my brothers, or kings that come after me—that our gift may stand even as they would be partakers of the life eternal and would escape everlasting torment. Whosoever shall lessen this our gift or the gifts of other good men, may the heavenly gate-warder lessen him in the kingdom of heaven; and whosoever will increase it, may the heavenly gate-warder increase him in the kingdom of heaven."

These are the witnesses who were there, who wrote it with their fingers on the cross of Christ and assented to it with their tongues. The king Wulfhere was the first who confirmed it by word and afterwards wrote it with his fingers on the cross of Christ; and said thus—"I king Wulfhere with the kings and earls and dukes and thegns—the witnesses of my gift—do confirm it before the archbishop Deusdedit with the cross of Christ ☩." "And I Oswy king of the Northumbrians, the friend of this monastery and of abbot Saxulf, approve of it with the cross of Christ ☩." "And I king Sighere grant it with the cross of Christ ☩." "And I king Sebbi write it with the cross of Christ ☩." "And I Æthelred the king's brother grant the same with the cross of Christ ☩." "And we the king's sisters, Cyneburg and Cyneswith, we approve it ☩." "And I Deusdedit archbishop of Canterbury grant it ☩." After that, all the others, who were there, assented to it with the cross of Christ ☩. They were by name Ithamar bishop of Rochester and Wine bishop of London and Jaruman who was bishop of the Mercians and bishop Tuda and Wilfrid priest, who was afterwards bishop, and Eoppa priest, whom king Wulfhere sent to preach Christianity

in the isle of Wight, and abbot Saxulf and Immine aldorman and Eadbert aldorman and Herefrith aldorman and Wilbert aldorman and Abon aldorman, Æthelbald, Brordan, Wilbert, Ealhmund, Frethegis. These, and many others who were there, thegns of the king, all assented to it. This writing was written six hundred and sixty-four years after the birth of our Lord, the seventh year of king Wulfhere, the ninth year of archbishop Deusdedit. Then they laid the curse of God and the curse of all saints and of all Christian people upon him who should undo anything which was done there. So be it, say all, Amen.

When these things were done, the king sent to Rome to Vitalian who then was pope, and desired that he should grant by his writ and with his blessing all the before-mentioned things. And the pope sent this writ thus saying "I pope Vitalian concede to thee, king Wulfhere, and to archbishop Deusdedit and to abbot Saxulf all the things that ye desire, and I forbid that any king or any man have any authority there save the abbot alone; nor let him obey any man save the pope of Rome and the archbishop of Canterbury. If any one break this in any thing, may St. Peter exterminate him with his sword: if any one observe it, may St. Peter with the keys of heaven undo for him the kingdom of heaven." Thus the monastery at Medeshamstead was begun which since has been called Peterborough.

After that another archbishop came to Canterbury, who was called Theodore, a very good and wise man, and he held his synod with his bishops and with the clergy. There was Winfrid bishop of the Mercians deposed from his bishopric and abbot Saxulf was there chosen to be bishop and Cuthbald monk of the same monastery was chosen abbot. This synod was held six hundred and seventy-three winters after the birth of our Lord.

657 [A]. Here Peada died and Wulfhere, son of Penda, succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians.

658 [A]. Here Cenwalh fought against the Welsh at

Pen(-Selwood) and he put them to flight as far as the Parrett: this was fought after he came from the East-Angles, where he was three years in exile. Thither had Penda driven him and deprived him of his kingdom because he had forsaken his sister.

660 [A]. Here bishop Ægelbert departed from Cenwalh and Wine held the bishopric three years; and Ægelbert obtained the bishopric of the Parisians by the Seine in Gaul.

661 [A]. Here during Easter Cenwalh fought at Pontesbury and Wulfhere, son of Penda, laid [the country] waste as far as Ashdown. And Cuthred, son of Cwichelm, and king Coenbert died in the one year. And Wulfhere, son of Penda, laid waste in the isle of Wight and gave the people of Wight to Æthelwald, king of the South-Saxons, because Wulfhere had been his sponsor at baptism. And Eoppa mass-priest¹ at the instance of Wilfrid and king Wulfhere was the first man to bring baptism to the people of Wight.

664 [A]. Here the sun was eclipsed [on v non. May (May 3rd)];² and Ercebert king of the Kentishmen died [and Egbert his son succeeded to the kingdom];² and Colman with his companions fared to his country. The same year was a great pestilence [in the island of Britain, and bishop Tuda died of the pestilence and was buried at Wagele].³ And Ceadda and Wilfrid were consecrated, and the same year archbishop Deusdedit died.

667 [E]. Here Oswy and Egbert sent Wigheard priest to Rome that he might be consecrated archbishop [to Canterbury],³ but he died as soon as he came thither.

668 [A]. Here Theodore was consecrated archbishop.

668 [E]. Here Vitalian the pope consecrated Theodore archbishop and sent him to Britain.

669 [A]. Here king Egbert gave to Bass mass-priest⁴ Reculver whereon to build a church.

670 [A]. Here died Oswy king of the Northumbrians

¹ Eoppa priest.—E.

² E.

³ F.

⁴ Bass priest.—E.

[on xv kal. Mar. (Feb. 15th)]¹ and Egferth [his son]¹ reigned after him. And Hlothere, nephew of bishop Ægelbert, succeeded to the bishopric over the West-Saxons, and held it seven years; bishop Theodore consecrated him. This Oswy was son of Æthelfrith, Æthelfrith of Æthelric, Æthelric of Ida, Ida of Eoppa.

671 [A]. Here was the great destruction of birds.

672 [A]. Here king Cenwalh died and Sexburg his queen reigned one year after him.

673 [A]. Here Egbert king of the Kentish-men died; and this year was a synod at Hertford,² and Saint Æthelthryth began the minster at Ely.

674 [A]. Here Æscwin succeeded to the kingdom in Wessex; he was son of Cenfus, Cenfus of Cenferth, Cenferth of Cuthgils, Cuthgils of Ceolwulf, Ceolwulf of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic.

675 [A]. Here Wulfhere, son of Penda, and Æscwin, son of Cenfus, fought at Bieda's head; and the same year Wulfhere died and Æthelred succeeded to the kingdom.

³[In his time he sent bishop Wilfrid to Rome to the pope that then was, whose name was Agatho, and showed him by letter and by message how his brothers Peada and Wulfhere and the abbot Saxulf had built a monastery, which was called Medeshamstead, and that they had freed it against king and against bishop of all services; and he besought him that he would assent to it with his writ and with his blessing. And then the pope sent his writ to England, thus saying:

"I Agatho, pope of Rome, greet well the worshipful Æthelred, king of the Mercians,—the archbishop Theodore of Canterbury and the bishops of the Mercians Saxulf, who was formerly abbot, and all the abbots, who are in England, with the greeting of God and my blessing. I have heard the desire of king Æthelred and of archbishop Theodore and of bishop Saxulf and of abbot Cuthbald; and it is my will that it be in

¹ E.

² And archbishop Theodore summoned a synod at Hertford.—E.

³ A Peterborough insertion, belonging to MS. E.

all wise even as you have spoken. And I ordain on behalf of God and of St. Peter, of all saints and of every person in orders that neither king nor bishop nor earl nor any man have any authority or rent or tax or military service; neither let any man exact any kind of service from the abbacy of Medeshamstead. I also ordain that the shire-bishop be not so bold that he perform any ordination or consecration in this abbacy, unless the abbot beseech it of him, nor have authority there, no bishop's fee or synod or anything of the kind. And it is my will that the abbot be holden as legate of Rome over all the island and that whatsoever abbot shall be chosen there by the monks, he be consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury. I will and concede that whatever man shall have made a vow to go to Rome and be unable to perform it either from sickness or his lord's need of him or from poverty or be unable to come there from any other kind of need—be he of England or of whatever other island he be—let him come to the monastery at Medeshamstead and have the same forgiveness of Christ and St. Peter and of the abbot and of the monks that he should have if he went to Rome. Now I beseech thee, brother Theodore, that thou cause to be commanded throughout all England that a synod be gathered and this decree be read and observed. In like manner I command thee bishop Saxulf that even as thou didst desire that the monastery be free, so I forbid thee and all the bishops that shall come after thee, from Christ and all his Saints, that ye have any authority upon the monastery except so far as the abbot shall be willing. Now will I say by word that whoso observeth this writ and this decree, may he be ever dwelling with God almighty in the kingdom of heaven; and whoso breaketh it, may he be excommunicated and thrust down with Judas and with all the devils in hell unless he turn to repentance. Amen!"

This writ pope Agatho and one hundred and twenty-five bishops sent to England by Wilfrid archbishop of York. This was done six hundred and eighty years

after the birth of our Lord in the sixth year of king Æthelred.

The king then commanded the archbishop Theodore to appoint a meeting of all the witan at the place which is called Heathfield. When they were assembled there, he caused the writ to be read which the pope had sent thither, and they all assented to and fully confirmed it.

Then said the king: "All those things, which my brother Peada and my brother Wulfhere and my sisters Cyneburg and Cyneswith gave and granted to St. Peter and the abbot, it is my will shall stand; and I will in my day increase it for the good of their souls and of my own. Now to-day I give St. Peter at his monastery, Medeshamstead, these lands and all that lieth there adjoining; that is to say, Bredon, Repington, Cedenac, Swineshead, Heanbury, Lodeshac, Scuffanhalch, Costesford, Stratford, Wætleburne, Lufgeard, Æthelhun-island, Bardney. These lands I give St. Peter all as freely as I myself possessed them and so that none of my successors take anything therefrom. If anyone shall do so, let him have the curse of the pope of Rome and the curse of all bishops and of all those who are here witnesses, and this I confirm with Christ's token ✠." "I Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, am witness to this charter of Medeshamstead and I confirm it with my signature and I excommunicate all those who shall break any part thereof and I bless all those who shall observe it ✠." "I Wilfrid, archbishop of York, I am a witness to this charter and I assent to the same curse ✠." "I Saxulf, who was first abbot and am now bishop, I give those my curse and that of all my successors who shall break this." "I Ostryth, queen of Æthelred, grant it." "I Adrian legate assent to it." "I Putta, bishop of Rochester, I subscribe it." "I Waldhere, bishop of London, confirm it." "I Cuthbald abbot assent to it so that, whoso shall break it, let him have the cursing of all bishops and of all Christian folk. Amen!"

676 [A]. Here Æscwin died and Hedda succeeded to

the bishopric; and Centwin succeeded to the kingdom [of the West-Saxons].¹ And Centwin was son of Cynegils, Cynegils of Ceolwulf. And Æthelred, king of the Mercians, laid waste Kent.

678 [A]. Here the star [called] comet appeared [in August and shone like a sunbeam every morning for three months]² and bishop Wilfrid was expelled from his bishopric by king Egferth; [and two bishops were consecrated in his stead—Bosa to Deira and Eata to Bernicia. And Eadhed was consecrated bishop to the men of Lindsey: he was first of the bishops in Lindsey.]³

679 [A]. Here Ælfwin was slain [by the Trent where Egferth and Æthelred fought; and here]³ Saint Æthelthryth died. [And Coldingham was burnt by divine fire.]²

680 [A]. Here archbishop Theodore presided over a synod at Heathfield because he wished to set right the Christian faith. And the same year died Hild abbess in Whitby.

681 [E]. Here Trumbert was consecrated bishop to Hexham and Trumwin to the Picts—for at that time they were subject to this country.³

682 [A]. In this year Centwin drove the Britons to the sea.

684 [A]. Here in this year Egferth sent a host against the Scots and Briht his aldorman with it, and miserably they plundered and burnt God's churches.

685 [A]. Here Ceadwalla began to strive for the kingdom. This Ceadwalla was son of Coenbert, Coenbert of Ceadda, Ceadda of Cutha, Cutha of Ceawlin, Ceawlin of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic; and Mul was brother of Ceadwalla who was afterwards burnt in Kent. And the same year king Egferth was slain: this Egferth was son of Oswy, Oswy of Æthelfrith, Æthelfrith of Æthelric, Æthelric of Ida, Ida of Eoppa. And the same year Hlothere died.

¹ E. *super occidentales Anglos.*—F Lat., with "Saxones" interlined.

² E.

³ Lit. = they belonged hither.

685 [E]. Here king Egferth bade Cuthbert be consecrated bishop and on the first day of Easter in York archbishop Theodore consecrated him bishop to Hexham: because Trumbert had been deposed from the bishopric. And the same year king Egferth was slain by the northern sea and a great host with him on xiii kal. June (May 20th). He was king fifteen winters and Aldfrith his brother succeeded to the kingdom after him. And here began Ceadwalla to strive for the kingdom. And the same year Hlothere king of the Kentish-men died. And John was consecrated bishop in August and he was there until Wilfrid¹ returned. Afterwards John succeeded to the bishopric of York for bishop Bosa was dead. Then afterwards Wilfrid¹ his priest was consecrated bishop to York and [John] went to his monastery in Beverley. [Here fell a bloody rain in Britain and milk and butter were turned to blood. . . .]²

686 [A]. Here Ceadwalla and Mul [his brother]³ harried Kent and Wight. [This Ceadwalla gave to St. Peter's monastery of Medeshamstead Hook, which is in an island called Heabureahg: at that time the abbot in the monastery was named Egbalht: he was the third abbot after Saxulf. At that time Theodore was archbishop in Kent.]⁴

687 [A]. Here Mul was burnt in Kent and twelve other men with him; and the same year Ceadwalla again laid waste Kent.

688 [A]. Here Ine succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons and held it thirty-seven winters [and he built the minster at Glastonbury];⁴ and the same year Ceadwalla fared to Rome and received baptism from the pope, and the pope named him Peter; and in about seven nights he died. Now this Ine was son of Coenred, Coenred of Ceolwald, Ceolwald was Cynegil's brother; and they were sons of Cuthwin, son of Ceawlin, Ceawlin of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic.

¹ These two Wilfrids must not be confused; the latter is Wilfrid II, Archbishop of York.

² F.

³ E.

⁴ In the margin of MS. A.

688 [E]. Here king Ceadwalla fared to Rome and received baptism of Sergius the pope, and he gave him the name of Peter and about seven nights afterwards on xii kal. (April 20th), in his baptismal garments,¹ he died; and he was buried in St. Peter's church. And Ine succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons after him; he reigned twenty-seven winters and afterwards departed to Rome and dwelt there to the end of his days.

690 [A]. Here archbishop Theodore died; [he was bishop twenty-two winters and he was buried within Canterbury].² And Berhtwald succeeded to the bishopric. ~~Before this the bishops had been Romans, from this time they were English.~~

692 [E]. Here Berhtwald was chosen archbishop on the kalends of July (July 1st): he was before abbot in Reculver. At that time were two kings in Kent, Wihtred and Wæbhard.

693 [E]. Here Berhtwald was consecrated archbishop by Godun, bishop of the Gauls, on v non. Jul. (July 3rd). At this time bishop Gebmund died; and archbishop Berhtwald consecrated Tobias in his place and Drihthelm was led forth from life.³

694 [A]. Here the Kentish-men compounded with Ine and gave him thirty thousand [pounds]⁴ because before they had burnt Mul. And Wihtred succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentish-men and held it thirty-three⁵

¹ Cum adhuc esset in albis.—F Lat.

² E.

³ This refers to the famous vision of Drihthelm (spelt by MS. E Brihthelm) narrated by Bede, v, 12.

⁴ Here we have the application of the principle of the wergild.—Compare Bede, iv, 21. As to the actual amount the authorities vary. A, D, E simply say 30,000, leaving the denomination unexpressed; B, F say 30,000 pounds; C 30 pounds (probably a scribal error). Allen ("Royal Prerogative," pp. 177-8) would supply "sceatta," remarking that this is exactly the wergild of a Mercian king. Ethelwald says, 30,000 solidi "per singulos constanti numero sexdecim nummis"; Florence of Worcester 3,750 pounds; and Malmesbury 30,000 mancuses, which, at eight to the pound, would agree with Florence.

⁵ Twenty and three winters.—E.

winters. This Wihtréd was son of Egbert, Egbert of Ercenbert, Ercenbert of Eadbald, Eadbald of Æthelbert.¹

697 [E]. Here the Southumbrians slew Ostryth, Æthelred's queen, sister of Egferth.

699 [E]. Here the Picts slew Berht aldorman.

• 702 [E]. Here Coenred succeeded to the kingdom of the Southumbrians.

¹ After this annal is inserted in F king Wihtréd's grant of privileges to the Church. This has been printed in Anglo-Saxon and Latin from this MS. by Birch, "*Cartularium Saxonicum*," i, 137-140, Nos. 94-95. It runs as follows:—As soon as he was king, he bade a great council be assembled at the place which is called Baccancel in which was sitting Wihtréd, king of the Kentish-men, and the archbishop of Canterbury, Berhtwald, and the bishop Tobias of Rochester and with them abbots and abbesses and many wise men—all to consult about the improvement of God's churches which are in Kent. Now began the king to speak and said: 'I will that all the minsters and all the churches, which were given or bequeathed to the glory of God in the days of the faithful kings my predecessors and in the days of my kinsmen, of king Æthelbert and those who followed after him, do so remain to the glory of God and firmly continue so to all eternity evermore. For I Wihtréd, an earthly king, inspired by the heavenly king and burning with the zeal of righteousness, I have learnt from the institutes of our forefathers that no layman ought with right to exercise authority over a church or over any of the things which belong to a church. And hence severely and faithfully do we appoint and decree, and in the name of God the Almighty and of all his saints do we forbid to all kings our successors and to aldormen and all laymen any lordship soever over the churches and over all their possessions which I or my ancestors of past days have given as an everlasting inheritance to the glory of Christ and of our lady St. Mary and of the holy Apostles. And observe that, when it happen that a bishop or an abbot or an abbess depart from this life, let it be made known to the archbishop and by his counsel and advice let such an one be chosen as be worthy. And let the archbishop inquire into the life of him, who shall be chosen to such a work, and into his cleanness; and in nowise let anyone be chosen or consecrated to such work without the counsel of the archbishop. Kings must appoint earls and aldormen, sheriffs and doomsmen; the archbishop must instruct and advise the church of God, and bishops and abbots and abbesses, priests and deacons, must choose and appoint and consecrate and establish them by good precepts and examples lest any of God's flock stray and be lost.'

- 703 [A]. Here bishop Headda died and he held the bishopric in Winchester twenty-seven¹ winters.
- 704 [A]. Here Æthelred, son of Penda, king of the Mercians, became a monk: and he had the kingdom twenty-nine winters. Then Coenred succeeded thereto.
- 705 [A]. Here Aldfrith, king of the Northumbrians, died [at Driffield on xix kal. Jan. (Dec. 14th)]² and bishop Saxulf. [Then Osred his son succeeded to the kingdom.].³
- 709 [A]. Here bishop Aldhelm died: he was bishop to the west of the wood;⁴ and in the early days of Daniel the land of the West-Saxons was divided into two bishop-shires—beforehand it had been one—the one Daniel held, the other Aldhelm. After Aldhelm, Forth-here succeeded thereto. And king Ceolred succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians; and Coenred fared to Rome and Offa with him. [And Coenred was there until his life's end. And the same year bishop Wilfrid died at Oundle and his body was carried to Ripon, he was bishop forty-five winters; him king Egferth had formerly driven away to Rome.].⁵
- 710 [E]. Here Acca, Wilfrid's priest, succeeded to the bishopric which before he had held; and the same year Berhtfrith aldorman fought against the Picts between the Avon and the Carron. And Ine and Nun his kinsman fought against Geraint, king of the Welsh; and the same year Sigbald was slain.⁶
- 714 [A]. Here Guthlac the holy died [and king Pepin].⁷
- 715 [A]. Here Ine and Ceolred fought at Wanborough. [Here died Dagobert the king.].⁸
- 716 [A]. Here Osred king of the Northumbrians was slain [on the southern border];⁹ he had the kingdom seven¹⁰ winters after Aldfrith. Then Coenred succeeded

¹ So D, E, F. Thirty-seven.—B, C.

² E.

³ To the west of Selwood.—B. In parte occidentis silve.—F. Lat.

⁴ The annal of 710 in A is from a later hand.—Here Berhtfrith aldorman fought against the Welsh; and Ine and Nun his kinsman fought against Geraint, king of the Welsh.

⁵ F.

⁶ Eight.—D.

to the kingdom and held it two years; then Osric held it eleven years. And the same year Ceolred king of the Mercians died and his body lies at Lichfield, and that of Æthelred, son of Penda, at Bardney. Then Æthelbald succeeded to the kingdom amongst the Mercians and held it forty-one winters; Æthelbald was son of Alwy, Alwy of Eawa, Eawa of Pybba whose kin is written above.¹ And Egbert the reverend man converted² the monks on the island of Iona to right so that they observed Easter correctly and the ecclesiastical tonsure.

718 [A]. Here Ingild, brother of Ine, died and their sisters were Cwenburg and Cuthburg. And this Cuthburg built the monastery at Wimborne; and she was given [in marriage] to Aldfrith king of the Northumbrians, but they separated during his lifetime.

721 [A]. Here Daniel fared to Rome; and the same year Ine slew Cynewulf atheling.³ [And here died the holy bishop John, who was bishop thirty-three years and eight months and thirteen days; and his body rests at Beverley.]⁴

722 [A]. Here queen Æthelburg razed Taunton which before Ine had built; and Ealdbert exile departed into Surrey and Sussex and Ine fought against the South-Saxons.

725 [A]. Here Wihtred king of the Kentish-men died [on ix kal. May (April 23rd); he reigned thirty-four winters];⁴ his kinship is above.⁵ And Ine fought against the South-Saxons and there slew Ealdbert [the atheling whom before he had expelled].⁴

727 [E]. Here Tobias, bishop in Rochester, died; and

¹ See 626 A.

² Converted the religious house of Iona to the correct Easter and St. Peter's tonsure.—E.

³ This entry marks the beginning of a long strife in the royal family of Wessex; the years 722, 725, 728 give further episodes thereof.

⁴ And Eadbert succeeded to the Kent-realm—by a later hand in A. And Eadbert reigned after him in Kent.—F. "Obitus Wihtredi gloriosi regis Cantiae."—F Lat.

in his place archbishop Berhtwald consecrated Aldwulf bishop.

728 [A]. Here Ine fared to Rome [and there gave up his life]¹ and Æthelhard [his kinsman]² succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons and held it fourteen years. And this year Æthelhard and Oswald atheling fought; and this Oswald was son of Æthelbald, Æthelbald of Cynebald, Cynebald of Cuthwin, Cuthwin of Ceawlin.

729 [A]. Here the star [called] a comet appeared and Saint Egbert died.

729 [E]. Here appeared two comets. And the same year died Osric—he was king eleven winters—and the holy Egbert in Iona. Then Ceolwulf succeeded to the kingdom and held it eight years.³

730 [A]. Here Oswald the atheling died.

731 [A]. Here Osric king of the Northumbrians was slain, and Ceolwulf succeeded to the kingdom and held it eight years;³ and this Ceolwulf was son of Cutha, Cutha of Cuthwin, Cuthwin of Leodwald, Leodwald of Egwald, Egwald of Aldhelm, Aldhelm of Ocga, Ocga of Ida, Ida of Eoppa. And archbishop Berhtwald died; and the same year Tatwin was consecrated archbishop.

731 [E]. Here archbishop Berhtwald died on id. Jan. (Jan. 13th); he was bishop twenty-seven winters and six months and fourteen days. And the same year Tatwin was consecrated archbishop; he was before priest at Bredon in Mercia. Daniel bishop of Winchester and Ingwald bishop of London and Aldwin bishop of Lichfield and Aldulf bishop of Rochester consecrated him die x Junii mensis.⁴

733 [A]. Here Æthelbald conquered Somerton; and the sun was eclipsed [and the whole disc of the sun was

¹ From a later hand in A.

² E, which places Ine's journey to Rome and Æthelhard's succession in 726. 726 F. Here died king Ine.

³ D inserts the death of Osric and accession of Ceolwulf under 729 (as E and F) and again under 731 (as A, B, C).

⁴ He had the archbishopric three years.—F add.

like a black shield].¹ [And Acca was driven from his bishopric.]²

734 [A]. Here the moon was as if it were sprinkled with blood; and [archbishop]³ Tatwin and Bede died, [and Egbert was consecrated bishop].³

✓ 735 [E]. Here bishop Egbert received his pall at Rome.

736 [A]. Here archbishop Not-helm received his pall from the bishop of the Romans.³

737 [A]. Here bishop Forth-here and queen Frithogith fared to Rome. [And king Ceolwulf received Peter's tonsure⁴ and gave up his kingdom to Eadbert, his father's brother's son: he reigned twenty-one winters. And bishop Æthelwald and Acca died; and Cynewulf was consecrated bishop. And the same year king Æthelbald⁵ laid waste the land of the Northumbrians.]³

738 [A]. Here Eadbert, son of Eata, Eata [being son] of Leodwald, succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians and held it twenty-one winters. And his brother was archbishop Egbert, son of Eata; and they both rest in one chapel in the city of York.

741 [A].⁶ Here king Æthelhard died, and Cuthred [his kinsman]⁶ succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons and held it sixteen winters;⁷ and he contended strenuously against Æthelbald king [of the Mercians].⁶ And Cuthbert⁸ was consecrated archbishop, and Dunn bishop to Rochester.

741 [E]. Here York was burnt.

742 [F]. Here a great synod was assembled at Clovesho; and there was Æthelbald king of the Mercians and archbishop Cuthbert and many other wise men.

743 [A]. Here Æthelbald [king of the Mercians]³ and Cuthred [king of the West-Saxons]³ fought against the Welsh.

¹ F. ² E. ³ Et tenuit v. ann.—F Lat. add.

⁴ Adopted a monastic life.—F.

⁵ E has Æthelwald against all other MSS. A scribal error due to occurrence of same name just above.

⁶ 740 E.

⁷ Twenty-six.—B, C.

⁸ Eadbert.—E, against all other MSS.; another scribal error.

744 [A]. Here Daniel gave up [the see of] Winchester; and Hunferth succeeded to the bishopric. [And stars went, shooting rapidly; and Wilfrid the younger, who was bishop in York, died on iii kal. May (April 29th): he was bishop thirty winters].¹

745 [A]. Here Daniel died; at that time were forty-three winters gone since he succeeded to the bishopric.

746 [A]. Here king Selred was slain.

748 [A]. Here Cynric atheling of the West-Saxons was slain; and Eadbert king of the Kentish-men died, [and Æthelbert son of king Wihtred succeeded to the kingdom].²

750 [A]. Here Cuthred king [of the West-Saxons]¹ fought against Æthelhun the proud aldorman.

752 [A]. Here Cuthred [king of the West-Saxons]¹ in the twelfth³ year of his reign fought at Burford against Æthelbald [king of the Mercians and put him to flight].¹

753 [A]. Here Cuthred [king of the West-Saxons]¹ fought against the Welsh.

754 [A]. Here died Cuthred [king of the West-Saxons].¹ And Cynehard succeeded to the bishopric in Winchester after Hunferth; and that year Canterbury was burnt. And Sigebert [his kinsman]¹ succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons and held it one year.

755 [A]. Here Cynewulf and the witan of the West-Saxons deprived Sigebert [his kinsman]¹ of his kingdom on account of his unrighteous deeds, save Hampshire; and he was in possession of that until he slew the aldorman who continued longest with him. And then Cynewulf drove him into Andred, and he dwelt there until a herdsman stabbed him at Privet's flood; and he avenged the aldorman Cumbra. And this Cynewulf fought very many battles against the Welsh; and about thirty-one⁴ winters after he had the king-

¹ E.

² From a later hand in A.

³ Twenty-second.—E.

⁴ So B, C. Twenty-one.—D. Sixteen.—E.

dom, he would expel an atheling who was named Cynehard. This Cynehard was brother of the Sigebert above; and he learnt that the king with a small band was at Merton in the company of a woman. And there he surprised him and surrounded the chamber from the outside before the men, who were with the king, were aware of him. And then the king perceived this and went to the door and there manfully defended himself until he got a sight of the atheling, and then he rushed out upon him and sorely wounded him; and they were all striking at the king until they had slain him. And then the king's thegns discovered the tumult through the woman's cries, and ran thither—each as he was ready and quickest. And the atheling offered money and life to each of them, and not one of them would accept it; but they continued fighting till they all lay dead,¹ save one British hostage and he was sorely wounded. When on the morrow the king's thegns, who had remained behind him, heard that the king was slain, then rode they thither and his aldorman Osric and Wiferth his thegn and the men whom before he had left behind. And they came upon the atheling in the burg where the king lay slain; and they had locked the gates against them. But they approached thereto. And then he offered them their own choice of land and money, if they would grant him the kingdom, and made known to them that their kinsmen were with him—who would not desert him. And then they said that no kinsman was dearer to them than their lord and that never would they follow his slayer. And then they offered their kinsmen that they should go away unscathed, but they said that the same offer had been made to their companions who before had been with the king. Then they said that they minded² it no more “than did your³ companions who were slain with the king.” And then they began fighting about the gates until they made

¹ Were slain.—E.

² They themselves minded it no more.—B.

³ Their.—E, which keeps to the *oratio obliqua*.

their way in and slew the atheling and all the men who were with him, save one who was the aldorman's godson; and he escaped with life though he was wounded in several places.

And this Cynewulf reigned thirty-one winters and his body lies at Winchester and the atheling's at Axminster; and their direct paternal kin goes to Cerdic. And the same year Æthelbald king of the Mercians was slain at Seckington and his body lies at Repton [and he reigned forty-one winters]¹; and Beornred succeeded to the kingdom and held it a little while and unhappily. And the same year Offa [drove out Beornred and]¹ succeeded to the kingdom and held it thirty-nine winters; and his son Egferth held it a hundred and forty-one days. This Offa was son of Thingferth, Thingferth of Eanwulf, Eanwulf of Osmod, Osmod of Eawa, Eawa of Pybba, Pybba of Creoda, Creoda of Cynewald, Cynewald of Cnebba, Cnebba of Icel, Icel of Eomær, Eomær of Angeltheow, Angeltheow of Offa, Offa of Wærmund, Wærmund of Wihtlæg, Wihtlæg of Woden.

755 [F]. Here Cynewulf deprived king Sigebert of his kingdom, and Sigebert's brother named Cynehard slew Cynewulf in Merton; and he reigned thirty-one years. And the same year was slain Æthelbald king of the Mercians in Repton; and Offa succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians, having driven out Beornred.²

757 [E]. Here Eadbert king of the Northumbrians assumed the tonsure, and his son Oswulf succeeded to the kingdom and reigned one year; and his household slew him on ix kal. Aug. (July 24th).

758 [A]. Here archbishop Cuthbert died; [and he held the archbishopric eighteen years].³

759 [A]. Here Bregowin was consecrated archbishop at Michaelmas [and held it four years].³ [And Moll Æthelwald succeeded to the kingdom amongst the

¹ E.

² Fugato Bernredo rege herede Adelb[aldi].—F Lat.

³ F.

Northumbrians and reigned six winters, and then resigned it].¹

760 [A]. Here Æthelbert king of the Kentish-men died; [he was son of king Wihtred]³ [and Ceolwulf also died].¹

761 [A]. Here was the severe winter; and Moll king of the Northumbrians slew Oswin at Edwin's cliff on viii id. Aug. (Aug. 6th).

763 [A]. Here⁵ Ianbert⁴ was consecrated archbishop on the fortieth day after midwinter.⁶ [And Frithwald bishop at Whithern died on non. May (May 7th); he was consecrated in York on xviii Kal. Sept. (Aug. 15th) in the sixth winter of Ceolwulf's reign; and he was bishop twenty-nine winters. Then Pehtwin was consecrated bishop to Whithern at Ælfetee on xvi kal. Aug. (July 17th).]⁸

764 [A]. Here archbishop Ianbert⁷ received his pall.

765 [E]. Here Alhred succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians and reigned eight⁸ winters.

766 [E]. Here died Egbert, archbishop in York, on xiii kal. Dec. (Nov. 19th)—he was bishop thirty-six winters—and Frithbert, [bishop] in Hexham—he was bishop thirty-three winters. And Æthelbert was consecrated to York and Ealhmund to Hexham.

768 [E].⁹ Here king Eadbert son of Eata died on xiii kal. Sept. (Aug. 20th).

769 [E]. Initium regni Karoli regis.

772 [A]. Here died bishop Mildred.

773 [A]. Here a red Christ's cross appeared in the heavens after sunset. And that year the Mercians and the Kentish-men fought at Otford; and wondrous adders were seen in the land of the South-Saxons.

774 [E]. Here at Easter-tide the Northumbrians expelled their king Alhred from York and took Æthel-

¹ E.

² From a later hand in A.

³ (Died archbishop Bregowin and).—F.

⁴ Eadberht.—B, C.

⁵ (And held it twenty-six years).—F.

⁶ 762 E.

⁷ Eanbert.—B. Eadbert.—C.

⁸ Nine.—D.

⁹ Same annal from a later hand without the date in A.

red, son of Moll, for their lord; he reigned four years.¹

776 [E]. Here bishop Pehtwin died on xiii kal. Oct. (Sept. 19th): he was bishop fourteen winters.

777 [A]. Here Cynewulf and Offa fought at Bensington, and Offa took the village. [And the same year Æthelbert was consecrated bishop to Whiterne at York on xvii kal. July (June 15th)].

In the days of king Offa was an abbot in Medeshamstead called Beonna. The same Beonna by the consent of all the monks of the monastery let to Cuthbert aldorman ten "bonde-lands" at Swineshead with pasture and with meadow and with all that lay thereto, and on this condition: that Cuthbert should give the abbot thirty pounds therefor and each year one day's entertainment or thirty shillings of pennies; and furthermore that after his day the land should return to the monastery. The witnesses of this were king Offa and king Egferth and archbishop Higbert and bishop Ceolwulf and bishop Inwona and abbot Beonna and many other bishops and abbots and many other great men. In the days of this same Offa was an aldorman who was called Brorda. He desired of the king that for the love of him he would free a monastery of his called Woking because he wished to give it to Medeshamstead and St. Peter and the abbot that then was, who was called Pusa. Pusa succeeded Beonna, and the king loved him greatly. And the king then freed the monastery Woking against king and against bishop and against earl and against all men so that no one should have any authority there save St. Peter and the abbot. This was done in the king's town called Freoric-burn.²

778 [E]. Here Æthelbald and Heardbert slew three high-reeves — Ealdulf Bosing at King's cliff and Cynewulf and Egga at Helathyrn on xi kal. April (Mar. 22nd). And then Ælfwold succeeded to the

¹ And men saw a red Christ's cross . . . etc., as in 773 A.

² E.

kingdom and expelled Æthelred from the land: and he reigned ten winters. Karolus in Hispanias intravit: Karolus Saxoniam venit: Karolus Pampileniam urbem destruxit, atque Cesar Augustam, exercitum suum conjunxit, et acceptis obsidibus, subjugatis Sarracenis, per Narbonam Wasconiam Franciam rediit.

779 [E]. Here the Old-Saxons and the Franks fought; and the high-reeves of the Northumbrians burnt Beorn aldorman in Silton on ix¹ kal. Jan. (Dec. 24th). And archbishop Æthelbert died in York and in his place Eanbald was consecrated; and bishop Cynebald² resigned Lindisfarne.

780 [A]. Here the Old-Saxons and the Franks fought.

780 [E]. Here Eahmund, bishop in Hexham, died on vii id. Sept. (Sept. 7th); and Tilbert was consecrated in his stead on vi non. Oct. (Oct. 2nd); and Higbald was consecrated at Sockburn bishop to Lindisfarne. And king Ælfwold sent a man to Rome for a pall and invested Eanbald as archbishop.³

✓ 782 [E]. Here died Werburg, Ceolred's queen, and ✓ Cynewulf bishop in Lindisfarne; and there was a synod at Ockley.

✓ 784 [A]. Here Cynehard slew king Cynewulf and was himself slain there and eighty-four men with him; and then Berhtric succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons and he reigned sixteen years and his body lies at Wareham; and his direct paternal kin goes to Cerdic. [At this time king Eahmund reigned in Kent].⁴

✓ 785 [A]. [Here died Botwin, abbot in Ripon; and] here was a contentious synod at Cealchythe, and archbishop Ianbert surrendered some deal of his bishopric, and Higbert was elected by king Offa; and Egferth was consecrated king, [and at this time messengers

¹ viii.—D.

² Cynewulf.—D; *recte* cf. 737.

³ 780 F. Here Eahmund, bishop in Hexham, died, and Tilbert was chosen thereto and Higbald to Lindisfarne. And king Ælfwold sent to Rome for a pall for the behoof of archbishop Eanbald.

⁴ From a later hand in A. 784 F. [Hic tunc temporis fuit in Cantia rex Eahmundus. This king Eahmund was father of Egbert. Egbert was father of Æthelwulf.] ⁵ E.

were sent from Rome by pope Adrian to England in order to renew the faith and the peace which St. Gregory had sent us by the bishop Augustin; and they were worshipfully received¹.²

787 [A]. Here king Berhtic took to wife Eadburg daughter of Offa; and in his days first came three ships [of Northmen from Hortha-land].³ And then the reeve rode thereto and would compel them [to go] to the king's town because he knew not what they were; and they slew him. These were the first ships of Danish-men which sought the land of the English race.

788 [E]. Here a synod was assembled in the land of the Northumbrians at Finchale on iv non. Sept. (Sept. 2nd); and abbot Aldbert died.³ Karolus per Alemanniam venit ad fines Bavvarie.

789 [E]. Here Ælfwold king of the Northumbrians was slain by Sige on ix kal. Oct. (Sept. 23rd); and a heavenly light was frequently seen where he was slain; and he was buried at Hexham within the church. And a [great]⁴ synod was assembled at Ockley. And Osred son of Alhred succeeded to the kingdom after him: he was his nephew.⁵

790 [A]. Here archbishop Ianbert died, and the same year abbot Æthelhard was chosen bishop.⁶ [And Osred king of the Northumbrians was betrayed and expelled from the kingdom; and Æthelred, son of Æthelwald, again succeeded to the kingdom.]²

791 [E]. Here Baldwulf was consecrated bishop to Whithorn on xvi kal. Aug. (July 17th) by archbishop Eanbald and by bishop Æthelbert.

792 [A]. Here Offa king of the Mercians commanded the head to be struck off from Æthelbert rex. [And Osred, who had been king of the Northumbrians, having come home after exile, was seized and slain on xviii kal. Oct. (Sept. 14th); and his body lies at

¹ And sent back in peace.—D add.

² E.

³ In Ripon.—Add. D.

⁴ F.

⁵ Because he was Ælfwold's nephew.—F.

⁶ Archbishop.—E.

Tynemouth. And king Æthelred took for a new wife her, who was named Ælfled, on iii kal. Oct. (Sept. 29th)].¹

- 793 [E]. Here dire forewarnings were come over the land of the Northumbrians and miserably terrified the folk: there were excessive [whirlwinds and]² lightnings, and fiery dragons were seen flying in the air. To these tokens followed a great famine; and a little after that in the same year on vi id. Jan. (Jan. 8th) the harrying of heathen men lamentably destroyed God's church in Lindisfarne by means of plunder and slaughter. And Sige died on viii kal. Mar. (Feb. 22nd).

794 [A]. Here pope Adrian and king Offa died; and Æthelred king of the Northumbrians was slain by his own people [on xiii kal. May (April 19th)],¹ and bishop Ceolwulf and bishop Eadbald departed from the land. And Egferth succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians and died the same year. And Eadbert, who by a second name was named Præn, obtained the kingdom in Kent. [And Æthelhard aldorman died on kal. Aug. (Aug. 1st); and the heathen men harried amongst the Northumbrians and plundered Egferth's monastery at the mouth of the Done; and there one of their leaders was slain and also some of their ships wrecked by a storm; and many of them were drowned there and some came to shore alive and were straightway slain at the river's mouth.]¹

795 [E]. Here the moon was eclipsed between cock-crow and dawn on v kal. April (Mar. 28th); and Eardwulf succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians on ii id. May (May 14th). And afterwards he was blessed³ and raised to his throne on vii kal. June (May 26th) in York by archbishop Eanbald and Æthelbert and Higbald and Baldwulf.

796 [A]. Here Ceolwulf king of the Mercians harried

¹ E.

² D.

³ As king, by archbishop Eanbald and bishop Æthelbert and Higbald and bishop Baldwulf.—F.

the Kentish-men as far as [Romney] Marsh and took Præn their king and led him bound into Mercia.

796 [E]. Here died Offa king of the Mercians on iv id. Aug. (July 29th)—he reigned forty winters—and archbishop Eanbald on iv id. Aug. of the same year; and his body lies in York. And the same year died bishop Ceolwulf; and a second Eanbald was consecrated in the first's place on xix kal. Sept. (Aug. 14th). And the same year Ceolwulf king of the Mercians harried the Kentish-men and the inhabitants of Romney Marsh and took Præn their king and led him bound into Mercia.¹

797 [A]. Here the Romans cut out the tongue of the pope Leo and put out his eyes and drove him from his see; and soon afterwards, God helping, he might see and speak and again was pope as he was before. [And Eanbald received his pall on vi id. Sept. (Sept 8th); and bishop Æthelbert died on xvii kal. Nov. (Oct. 16th) and Heardred was consecrated bishop in his place on iii. kal. Nov. (Oct. 30th).]² [And bishop Alfhun died in Sudbury and he was buried in Dunwich and Tidfrith was chosen after him; and

¹ (And caused his eyes to be put out and his hands cut off.) And Æthelhard, archbishop of Canterbury, appointed a synod and confirmed and ratified by the command of pope Leo, all the matters concerning God's houses, which were appointed in Wihtgar's days and in other kings' days, and thus said: "I, Æthelhard, the humble archbishop of Canterbury, by the unanimous counsel of the whole synod to [the congregation of all the] monasteries and churches to which in old days immunity was given by faithful men, in the name of God and by his awful doom, I command, as I have command of pope Leo, that henceforth none dare to choose for themselves lords over God's heritage from amongst laymen. But even as it stands in the writ which the pope has given or as those holy men have appointed who are our fathers and instructors concerning holy houses, thus let them continue inviolate without any kind of gainsaying. If there be any man, who will not observe this ordinance of God and of our pope and of us—who despiseth and holdeth it for naught—let him know that he shall give account before the judgment-seat of God. And I Æthelhard archbishop with twelve bishops and three and twenty abbots do confirm and ratify this same with Christ's cross."—F.

² E.

Siric king of the East-Saxons fared to Rome. Here in this same year the body of Wihtburg was found at Dereham—all whole and uncorrupted—five and fifty years after she departed from this life.]¹

798 [E]. Here was a great battle at Whalley in the land of the Northumbrians, in the spring, on iv non. April (April 2nd); and there Alric son of Heardbert was slain and many others with him.

799 [A]. Here archbishop Æthelhard² and Cynebert bishop of the West-Saxons fared to Rome.

800 [A]. Here [the moon was eclipsed at the second hour in the night on xvii kal. Feb. (Jan 16th); and]³ king Berhtic died and Worr aldorman; and Egbert⁴ succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons. And the same day Æthelmund aldorman rode from the Hwiccas⁵ over at Kempsford, when Weohstan aldorman met him with the men of Wiltshire. There was a great battle and there both the aldormen were slain and the men of Wiltshire got the victory. [Karolus rex imperator factus est, et a Romanis appellatus Augustus; qui illos qui Leonem papam dehonesta-verant morte damnavit, sed precibus papæ morte indulta exilio retrusit. Ipse enim papa Leo imperatorem eum sacraverat].⁶

802 [A]. Here [the moon was eclipsed at dawn on xiii kal. Jan.⁶ (Dec. 20th); and]³ Beornmod was consecrated bishop to Rochester.⁷

803 [A]. Here [died Higbald bishop of Lindisfarne on

¹ This is from F. The earlier portion of the annal is lost, and the precise year to which these events are assigned cannot therefore be gauged. Plummer puts them under 798.

² E has Æthelred, against all other MSS.

³ E.

⁴ Filius Ealhmundi regis.—F Lat.

⁵ The only mention of the Hwiccas in the Chronicle. Their territory in the sixth century seems to have included Worcestershire, Gloucestershire and a large part of Hampshire. The kingdom first comes before our notice under its kings, Osric and Oshere (c. 675-695).

⁶ "Tunc temporis extitit Cuthredus rex Cantie."—Inserted here in the Saxon, not in the Latin of F.

⁷ D places this entry in the form in which it occurs in A under year 801, but repeats it in form of E under 802.

viii kal. July (June 24th) and Egbert was consecrated in his stead on iii id. June (June 11th); and]¹ archbishop Æthelhard died [in Kent]¹ and Wulfred was consecrated archbishop² and abbot Forthred died.

804 [A]. Here archbishop Wulfred received his pall.

805 [A]. Here died king Cuthred among the Kentishmen and abbess Ceolburg and Heardbert aldorman.

806 [E]. Here the moon was eclipsed on kal. Sept. (Sept. 1st). And Eardwulf king of the Northumbrians was driven from his kingdom; and Eanbert bishop of Hexham died. [Also in the same year on ii non. June (June 4th) a cross appeared in the moon on a Wednesday at dawn; and afterwards in this year on iii kal. Sept. (Aug. 30th) a wonderful circle was seen about the sun].³

809 [E]. Here the sun was eclipsed at the beginning of the fifth hour of the day xvii kal. Aug. (July 16th), the 2nd day of the week, the 29th of the moon.

810 [E]. Karolus cum Niceforo imperatore Constantinopol. pacem fecit.

812 [A]. Here king Charles died and he reigned forty-five winters; and archbishop Wulfred and Wigbert bishop of the West-Saxons both fared to Rome. [Cireneius Karolo imperatore legatos suos cum pace mittit. Karolus imperator obiit.]¹

813 [A]. Here archbishop Wulfred with the blessing of the pope Leo returned to his own bishopric; and the same year king Egbert harried in West Wales from eastward to westward.

814 [A]. Here Leo the noble and holy pope died; and after him Stephen succeeded to the realm.⁴

816 [A]. Here pope Stephen died and after him Paschal was consecrated pope. And the same year was burnt the school of the English race.⁵

819 [A]. Here Cenwulf king of the Mercians died and

¹ E. ² Wulfred was chosen in his stead.—F. ³ F.

⁴ Popedom.—F.

⁵ In Rome. The English school was a quarter near St. Peter's where the frequent pilgrims from this country resided at Rome. According to Anastasius they called it their "burgus"—which is the right technical term therefor (cf. note to 755).

Ceolwulf succeeded to the kingdom; and Eadbert aldorman died.

821 [A]. Here Ceolwulf was deposed from his kingdom.

822 [A]. Here two aldormen, Burghelm and Muca, were slain; and there was a synod at Clovesho.

823 [A]. Here was a battle between the Welsh¹ and the men of Devonshire at Galford; and the same year Egbert king [of the West-Saxons]² and Beornwulf king [of the Mercians]² fought at Ellendun, and Egbert got the victory, and there was great slaughter made. Then he sent from the fyrd his son Æthelwulf and Ealhstan his bishop and Wulfhard his aldorman into Kent with a large force, and they drove Baldred the king northwards over the Thames. And the men of Kent and the men of Surrey and the South-Saxons and the East-Saxons submitted to him, for formerly they had been wrongly forced away from his kin. And the same year the king of the East-Angles and the people sought king Egbert for ally and protector, from dread of the Mercians; and that year the East-Angles slew Beornwulf king of the Mercians.

825 [A]. Here Ludecan king of the Mercians was slain and his five aldormen with him; and Wiglaf succeeded to the kingdom.

827 [A]. Here the moon was eclipsed on the eve of mid-winter. And the same year King Egbert conquered the kingdom of the Mercians and all that was south of the Humber; and he was the eighth king who was Bretwalda.³ Ælle king of the South-Saxons was the first who had thus great dominion; the second was Ceawlin king of the West-Saxons; the third was Æthelbert king of the Kentish-men; the fourth was Redwald king of the East-Angles; the fifth was Edwin king of the Northumbrians; the sixth was Oswald who reigned after him; the seventh was Oswy, Oswald's brother; the eighth was Egbert king of the

¹ By the Welsh are meant those of Cornwall (cf. 813). This represents the final reduction of Cornwall by Wessex.

² E.

³ Octavus rex qui rexit Brythaniā.—F Lat.

West-Saxons. And this Egbert led a fyrd to Dore¹ against the Northumbrians, and there they offered him obedience and peace, and with that they separated.

828 [A]. Here Wiglaf again obtained the kingdom of the Mercians, and bishop Æthelwald died; and the same year king Egbert led a fyrd against the North-Welsh, and he forced them [all]² to obedient subjection.

829 [A]. Here archbishop Wulfred died [and after him abbot Felogild was chosen to the archbishopric on vii kal. May (April 25th); and he was consecrated on a Sunday vi id. June (June 9th) and he was dead on iii kal. Sept. (Aug. 30th).³

830 [A]. Here Ceolnoth was chosen bishop and consecrated; and abbot Felogild died.

831 [A]. Here archbishop Ceolnoth received his pall.

832 [A]. Here the heathen men harried Sheppey. ✓

833 [A]. Here king Egbert fought against the crews of thirty-five ships at Charmouth, and there was great slaughter made, and the Danish-men had possession of the place of slaughter. And Hereferth and Wigthegn, two bishops, died; and Dudda and Osmod, two aldormen, died. ✓

835 [A]. Here a great ship-host came to the West-Welsh, and they united together and made war upon Egbert king of the West-Saxons. When he heard of it, he fared thither with a fyrd and fought against them at Hingston Down and there put to flight both the Welsh and the Danish-men. ✓

836 [A]. Here king Egbert died; before he was king, Offa king of the Mercians and Berhtric king of the West-Saxons expelled him from the land of the English race into France for three years;⁴ and Berhtric assisted Offa because he had his daughter for his queen. And this Egbert reigned thirty-seven winters and seven months;⁵ and Æthelwulf son of Egbert ✓

¹ Quod est in aquilonari parte Humbræ.—F Lat.

² E.

³ F.

⁴ And afterwards he came back and was king thirty-seven winters and seven months.—F.

⁵ And Æthelwulf his son succeeded to the kingdom of the West-

succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons; and he gave his son Æthelstan the kingdom of the Kentish-men and of the East-Saxons and of the men of Surrey and of the South-Saxons.

837 [A]. Here Wulfhard aldorman fought at Southampton against the crews of thirty-three¹ ships and there made great slaughter and got the victory; and that year Wulfhard died. And the same year Æthelhelm dux² fought against the Danish host at Portland with the men of Dorset³ and for a good while he drove off the host, but the Danish-men had possession of the field of slaughter and slew the aldorman.

838 [A]. Here Herebert⁴ aldorman was slain by the heathen men and many with him among the Marshmen [of Romney]; and again in the same year, in Lindsey and in East-Anglia and in Kent, many men were slain by the host.

839 [A]. Here was great slaughter in London and in Cwantawic⁵ [i.e. Etaples] and in Rochester.

840 [A]. Here king Æthelwulf fought at Charmouth against the crews of thirty-five ships, and the Danish-men had possession of the place of slaughter [and Louis the emperor died.]⁶

845 [A]. Here Eanwulf aldorman⁷ with the men of Somerset and bishop Ealhstan and Osric aldorman with the men of Dorset fought at the mouth of the Parret⁸ against the Danish host and there made great slaughter and got the victory.

851 [A]. Here Ceorl aldorman with the men of Devonshire fought against the heathen men at Wiganbeorg⁹ and there made great slaughter and got the victory. And the same year king Æthelstan and Ealhere dux¹⁰

Saxons; and Æthelstan his other son succeeded to the kingdom of the Kentish-men and to Surrey and to the kingdom of the South-Saxons.—E.

¹ Thirty-four.—C.

² Aldorman.—E.

³ And the aldorman was slain and the Danish-men had possession of the field of slaughter.—E.

⁴ Egbert.—D.

⁵ C reads Canterbury.

⁶ F add.

⁷ Eanwulf dux.—E.

⁸ Ad os Pedredan cum Sumersaetan et Dorseton.—F Lat.

⁹ Possibly Wembury near Plymouth.

¹⁰ Aldorman.—B, C.

slew a great host [of the enemy] at Sandwich in Kent and took nine ships and put the others to flight. And the heathen men for the first time settled over winter [in Thanet].¹ And the same year came three hundred and fifty ships to the mouth of the Thames and [the crews] stormed Canterbury and London and put to flight Berhtwulf king of the Mercians with his fyrd and then fared south over the Thames into Surrey; and there king Æthelwulf and his son Æthelbald with the fyrd of the West-Saxons fought against them at Ockley and there made the greatest slaughter among the heathen host that we have heard tell of to this present day and there got the victory.²

852 [E]. Here at this time Ceolred abbot of Medeshamstead and the monks let to Wulfred the land of Sempingham on the agreement that after his day the land should return to the monastery and that Wulfred should give the land of Sleaford to Medeshamstead and each year should deliver into the monastery sixty loads of wood and twelve loads of brushwood and six loads of faggots and two butts full of clear ale and two cattle for slaughter and six hundred loaves and ten measures of Welsh ale and each year a horse and thirty shillings and one night's entertainment. At this agreement were present king Burgred and archbishop Ceolred and bishop Tunbert and bishop Cenred and bishop Alhun and bishop Berhtred and abbot Wihtred and abbot Werhtherd and Æthelhard aldorman, Hunbert aldorman and many others.

853 [A]. Here Burgred king of the Mercians and his witan begged of king Æthelwulf that he would assist him to reduce the North-Welsh to obedience. Then he did so; and fared with a fyrd across Mercia among the North-Welsh and made them all obedient to him. And the same year king Æthelwulf sent his

¹ E.

² And the same year king Æthelstan and Ealhere dux fought at sea and slew a great host [of the enemy] at Sandwich, and took nine ships and put the others to flight.—E; which thus places this sea-battle after the victory of Ockley in contradistinction to A.

son Alfred to Rome. Leo was pope in Rome at the time; and he consecrated him king and took him for his godson at confirmation. Then in the same year Ealhere with the men of Kent and Huda with the men of Surrey fought in Thanet against a heathen host, and at first were victorious; and many there were slain and drowned on each side. And after Easter king Æthelwulf gave his daughter to king Burgred from Wessex into Mercia.

853 [E]. Here Burgred king of the Mercians subjected to him the North-Welsh with the help of King Æthelwulf. And the same year Ealhere with the men of Kent and Huda with the men of Surrey fought in Thanet against a heathen host; and there were many slain and drowned on each side and the aldormen both dead. And Burgred king of the Mercians took the daughter of Æthelwulf king of the West-Saxons.

✓ 855 [A]. Here the heathen men for the first time settled over winter in Sheppey; and the same year king Æthelwulf gave by charter the tenth part of his land throughout all his realm for the glory of God and his own eternal salvation.

And the same year he fared to Rome in great state and was dwelling there twelve months¹ and then turned homewards. And then Charles king of the Franks gave him his daughter for queen;² and after that he came to his people and they were fain of it. And about two years after he came from France he died and his body lies in Winchester; and he reigned eighteen years and a half.³ And this Æthelwulf was son of Egbert,⁴ Egbert of Ealhmund, Ealhmund of

¹ And on his return homewards he took to [wife] the daughter of Charles, king of the Franks; and he came home safe. And then in about two years he died and his body lies in Winchester; and he reigned nine years: he was son of Egbert. And then his two sons succeeded to the kingdom: Æthelbald to the kingdom of the West-Saxons . . . and to Surrey. And he reigned five years.—E.

² Who was named Judith.—F.

³ So B, C, D. Twenty years.—F.

⁴ Here D interrupts pedigree to give succession of Æthelwulf's

Eafa, Eafa of Eoppa, Eoppa of Ingild: Ingild was brother of Ine king of the West-Saxons—he who fared to St. Peter's and gave up his life there; they were sons of Coenred, Coenred of Ceolwald, Ceolwald of Cutha, Cutha of Cuthwin, Cuthwin of Ceawlin, Ceawlin of Cynric, Cynric of Cerdic,¹ Cerdic of Elesa, Elesa of Esla, Esla of Gewis, Gewis of Wig, Wig of Freawin, Freawin of Frithogar, Frithogar of Brand, Brand of Bældæg, Bældæg of Woden, Woden² of Frithowald, Frithowald of Freawin, Frealaf³ of Frithowulf, Frithowulf of Finn, Finn of Godwulf, Godwulf of Geat, Geat of Tætwa, Tætwa of Beaw, Beaw of Sceldwea, Sceldwea of Heremod, Heremod of Itermon, Itermon of Hathra⁴—who was born in the ark: Noah, Lamech, Methusalem, Enoch, Jared, Malalahel, Cainion, Enos, Seth, Adam, primus homo et pater noster est Christ, Amen.

And then Æthelwulf's two sons succeeded to the kingdom: Æthelbald to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and Æthelbert to the kingdom of the Kentishmen and to the kingdom of the East-Saxons and to Surrey and to the kingdom of the South-Saxons;⁵ and then Æthelbald reigned five years.

860 [A]. Here died king Æthelbald and his body lies at Sherborne, and Æthelbert succeeded to the whole kingdom of his brother; and he held it in goodly accord and in great tranquillity.⁶ And in his day a great ship-host landed and stormed Winchester. And

sons, which it afterwards repeats in more correct form at end of annal. E follows in the main the earlier incorrect version of D.

¹ Cynric of Creoda, Creoda of Cerdic.—B, C, D.

² Woden of Frealaf, Frealaf of Finn.—B, C, D.

³ Sic MS. Freawin.—W.

⁴ Hathra of Hwala, Hwala of Bedwig, Bedwig of Scaef, that is filius Noe—who was born in the ark of Noah: Lamech, Methusalem, etc. (as in A).—B, C.

⁵ Alfred, his third son, he had sent to Rome; and when the pope Leo heard say that Æthelwulf was dead, he blessed Alfred king and received him as his godson at confirmation even as his father Æthelwulf had requested on sending him thither.—F.

⁶ And he . . . tranquillity—omitted by B, C, D, E.

Osric aldorman with the men of Hampshire, Æthelwulf aldorman with the men of Berkshire fought against the host and put them to flight and had possession of the place of slaughter. And Æthelbert reigned five years and his body lies at Sherborne.¹

- 865 [A]. Here the heathen host settled in Thanet and made peace with the Kentish-men, and the Kentish-men promised them money for the peace; and during the peace and the promise of money the host stole away inland by night and harried all the east of Kent.
- 866 [A]. Here Æthelred, Æthelbert's brother, succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons; and the same year a great host [of Danes] came to the land of the English race and took up their winter-quarters in East-Anglia and there they were provided with horses; and the East-Angles made peace with them.
- 867 [A]. Here the host fared from East-Anglia over the mouth of the Humber to York in Northumbria. And there was a great division of the people between themselves and they had cast out their king Osbert and had received Ælle as king, not of royal race; and late in the year they resolved to continue the war against the [Danish] host. And to that purpose they gathered a large fyrd and sought the host at York and broke into the town; and some of them got within and there was an excessive slaughter made of the Northumbrians—some within, others without; and both the kings were slain; and the remainder made peace with the host. And the same year bishop Ealhstan died, and he had the bishopric at Sherborne fifty winters, and his body lies in the town.
- 868 [A]. Here the same host fared into Mercia to Nottingham and there took up their winter-quarters. And Burgred king of the Mercians and his witan begged

¹ 861 F. Here died St. Swithun bishop and king Æthelbald, and he lies in Sherborne. And Æthelbert succeeded to the whole kingdom of his brother; and in his day came a great ship-host and stormed Winchester. And Hampshire and Berkshire fought against the host and put it to flight. And this Æthelbert reigned five years and his body lies at Sherborne.

of Æthelred king of the West-Saxons and of Alfred his brother that they would help him—that they should fight against the host. And then they fared with the fyrd of the West-Saxons into Mercia as far as Nottingham and there found the host [of the Danes] within the fortress [and besieged them therein].¹ But no heavy fighting took place there, and the Mercians made peace with the host.

869 [A]. Here the host fared again to York and settled there one year.

870 [A]. Here the host rode across Mercia into East-Anglia and took up their winter-quarters at Thetford; and that winter king Edmund² fought against them, and the Danish-men got the victory and slew the king and subdued all the land³ [and destroyed all the monasteries to which they came. At the same time they came to Medeshamstead and burnt and destroyed it, slew abbot and monks and all that they found there; and so wrought that the place which before was full rich was reduced to nothing].⁴ And that year died⁵ archbishop Ceolnoth;⁶ [and Æthelred

¹ B, C, D, E, F.

² St. Edmund king.—E.

³ The names of their chiefs who slew the king were Ingwar and Ubba.—F.

⁴ E.

⁵ At Rome.—Add D.

⁶ Then fared Æthelred and Alfred his brother and took Æthelred bishop of Wiltshire and appointed him archbishop to Canterbury, because formerly he had been a monk of the same church of Canterbury. As soon as he came to Canterbury and he was established in his archbishopric, he thought how he might expel the clerks who were therein—whom the archbishop Ceolnoth had before placed there, compelled by such need as we shall relate. The first year that he was made archbishop was so great a pestilence that of all the monks, whom he found therein, no more than five monks survived. Then for . . . [defective MS.] . . . he forced his chaplains and also some of his village-priests to help the few monks, who were left there, to do Christ's service because he might not so readily find monks who were able of themselves to do the service; and for this reason he commanded that the priests should help the monks until the time when God should give peace in this land. In the same time was this land much distressed by frequent battles, and hence the archbishop could not effect his object—for all his time was strife and sorrow over England; and hence the clerks remained with the monks. Yet was there never a time that monks were not therein and they ever had lordship over

bishop of Wiltshire was chosen archbishop to Canterbury].¹

871 [A]. Here the host came² to Reading in Wessex; and three nights after two earls rode into the country. Then Æthelwulf aldorman met them at Englefield and fought against them there and got the victory.³ At the end of four nights king Æthelred and Alfred his brother led a great fyrd to Reading and fought against the host, and there was great slaughter made on either side; and Æthelwulf aldorman was slain, and the Danish-men had possession of the place of slaughter. And four nights after this, king Æthelred and Alfred his brother fought against the whole host at Ash-down;⁴ and they were in two bodies—in the one was Bachsecg and Halfden the heathen kings and in the other were the earls. And then the king Æthelred fought against the troops of the kings, and there was the king Bachsecg slain; and Alfred his brother against [the troops] of the earls, and there was slain earl Sidroc the elder and earl Sidroc the younger and earl Osbeorn and earl Fræna and earl Harold. And —both the hosts were put to flight and many thousands — slain; and the fighting continued until night. And at — the end of fourteen nights king Æthelred and Alfred his brother fought against the host at Basing, and there the Danish-men got the victory. And about two months afterwards, king Æthelred and Alfred his brother fought against the host at Marden; and they

the priests. Again the archbishop Ceolnoth thought and also said to those who were with him—"As soon as God shall give peace in this land, either these priests shall become monks, or from elsewhere I will place in the church as many monks as may do the service by themselves: for God knows that I. . . ."—F.

¹ By a later hand in A.

² Rode.—E.

³ And there one of them was slain, whose name was Sidroc.—B, C, D.

⁴ And the Danish-men were overcome and they had two heathen kings, Bachsecg and Halfden, and many earls.—F.

* This portion of the text is lost; see the Latin narrative printed by Plummer in Appendix B.

were in two bodies; and they drove off both and for long in the day were victorious; and there was great slaughter on either side, but the Danes had possession of the place of slaughter. And there bishop Heahmund was slain and many good men; and after this battle came a great summer-army [to Reading].¹ And there-upon after Easter king Æthelred died; he reigned five years and his body lies at Wimborne [church].¹

Then Alfred son of Æthelwulf, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons. And about one month afterwards king Alfred with a small band fought against the whole host at Wilton and for long in the day drove them off; but the Danish-men had possession of the place of slaughter. And this year nine folk-fights were fought against the host [of the Danes] in the kingdom to the south of the Thames—besides those raids which Alfred the king's brother and a single aldorman² and king's thegns oftentimes made upon them: which were not counted: and within the year nine earls and one king were slain. And that year the West-Saxons made peace with the host.

872 [A]. Here the host fared from Reading to London and there took up their winter-quarters; and then the Mercians made peace with the host.

873 [A]. Here the host fared into Northumbria and took up their winter-quarters at Torksey in Lindsey; and then the Mercians made peace with the host.

874 [A]. Here the host fared from Lindsey to Repton and there took winter-quarters and drove king Burgred over sea, about twenty-two years after he had succeeded to the kingdom, and subdued the whole land; and Burgred fared to Rome and settled there, and his body lies in St. Mary's church at the school of the English race. And the same year they gave the kingdom of the Mercians into the keeping of [Ceolwulf]³ a foolish king's thegn; and he swore oaths to them and gave hostages that it was to be ready for them on whatever day they would have it and that he was to

¹ E.

² And aldormen.—E.

³ E, B, C, D.

be ready in his own person and with all who would follow him for the behoof of the host.

875 [A]. Here the host fared from Repton, and Halfden fared with a part of the host into Northumbria and took up winter-quarters by the river Tyne. And the host conquered the land and oft-times harried amongst the Picts and the Strathclyde Welsh. And Guthrum and Oskytel and Anwend, the three kings, fared with a large host from Repton to Cambridge and settled there one year. And that summer king Alfred fared out to sea with a ship-host and fought against the crews of seven ships and took one of them and put the others to flight.

876 [A]. Here the host stole away from the fyrd of the West-Saxons [and got] into Wareham. And [afterwards]¹ the king made peace with the host; [and they gave to the king as hostages those who were most honoured in the host]¹ and they swore oaths to him on the holy ring²—which never before would they do to any people—that they should speedily fare from his kingdom.³ And under cover of this, [that part of] the host which was horsed stole away by night from the fyrd [and got] into Exeter. And that year Halfden apportioned the lands of the Northumbrians;⁴ and [thenceforth] they were ploughing and providing for themselves. [*Rollo cum suis Normaniam penetravit et regnavit annis liii.*]⁵

877 [A]. Here the host came to Exeter from Wareham; and the ship-host sailed west about; and then a great storm⁶ overtook them at sea and there one hundred and twenty ships perished at Swanage. And the king

¹ E.

² *Jusjurandum super sacrum armillum fecerunt.*—F Lat.

³ And in the night they broke that.—F.

⁴ So that afterwards they were ploughing, etc.—B.

⁵ E. 876 F. Here Rollo overran Normandy with his host, and he reigned fifty winters.

⁶ *Quos iterum sequenti anno insequitur rex usque Exoniam, et iterum sacramenta magna et obsides plures prioribus accepit; et non post multum temporis a regno ejus, videlicet occidentalium Saxonum discedunt.*—F Lat.

Alfred with his fyrd rode after the mounted host up to Exeter, and they were unable to overtake them from behind before they were within the fortress where they might not be reached. And there they gave to him important hostages, as many as he would have, and swore great oaths, and then they maintained good peace. And afterwards in the autumn the host fared into the land of the Mercians and apportioned a part of it and the rest gave to Ceolwulf.

878 [A]. Here at midwinter after Twelfth night the host stole away to Chippenham and overran the land of the West-Saxons and occupied it and drove over sea many of the folk, and they conquered the most part of the rest¹ and forced them to submit save king Alfred—and he with a little band fared with difficulty to the woods and to the fastnesses of the moors. And the same winter the brother of Ingwar and of Halfden was with twenty-three ships in Devonshire in Wessex, and there he was slain and eight hundred men with him and forty men of his host; [and there was captured the war-banner which they called the Raven].² And after this at Easter king Alfred with a little band built a fort at Athelney; and from this fort with that portion of the men of Somerset, who were nearest thereto, continued to wage war against the host. Then in the seventh week after Easter he rode to Egbert's stone to the east of Selwood;³ and there came to meet him all the men of Somerset and the men of Wiltshire and that portion of the men of Hampshire who were on this side of the sea; and they were fain of him. And one night he fared from that station to Iley and on the night after to Ethandun and there fought against the whole host and put them to flight and rode after them as far as their fort; and there he sat fourteen nights. And then the host gave to him important hostages and many oaths that they would leave his kingdom, and also they promised him

¹ And the folk submitted to them.—C.

² E.

³ Wealwood.—E.

that their king would receive baptism; and that they accordingly fulfilled. And three weeks afterwards the king Guthrum came to him with thirty men, who were the most honoured in the host, at Aller, which is opposite to Athelney; and the king received him as his godson at baptism, and his chrism-loosing was at Wedmore; and he was twelve days with the king, and he greatly honoured him and his companions with money.

879 [A]. Here the host fared to Cirencester from Chippenham and settled there one year. And this year a band of vikings assembled together and took up a position at Fulham on the Thames. And the same year the sun was eclipsed during one hour of the day.

880 [A]. Here the host fared from Cirencester into East Anglia and occupied the land and apportioned it. And the same year the host, which before had taken up a position at Fulham, fared over sea to Ghent in France and settled there one year.

881 [A]. Here the host fared further inland into France, and the Franks fought against them; and then was the host mounted there after the battle.

882 [A]. Here the host fared inland along the banks of the Maas far into France and there sat one year. And the same year king Alfred fared out to sea with his ships and fought against the crews of four ships of Danish-men and took two of the ships, and the men were slain that were therein; and the crews of two ships surrendered to him¹ and they were sorely distressed and wounded before they surrendered to him.

883 [A]. Here the host fared inland up the Scheldt to Condé and settled there one year. [And pope Marinus sent the "lignum Domini" to king Alfred;² and the same year Sighelm and Æthelstan carried to Rome and also to India, to St. Thomas and to St. Bartholomew, the alms which the king had vowed (to send)

¹ And two escaped.—F.

² Marinus the famous pope sent to king Alfred [a piece] of Christ's rood.—F.

thither¹—[on the occasion] when they took up their position against the host at London; and there by the mercy of God they were very successful in their prayers in accordance with the vows.]²

884 [A].³ Here the host fared inland up the Somme to Amiens and settled there one year.

885 [A]. Here the fore-mentioned host divided into two; the one part [went] eastwards, the other part to Rochester and besieged the city and erected another fortification around themselves. And nonetheless they defended the city till [king]² Alfred arrived outside with a fyrd. Then went the host to their ships and abandoned their fortification; and there they were deprived of their horses and straightway in the same summer departed over sea. And the same year king Alfred sent a ship-host [from Kent]² to East-Anglia: as soon as they came to the mouth of the Stour, they met there sixteen ships of vikings and they fought against them and captured all the ships and slew the men. When they were returning homeward with the booty, they met a large fleet of vikings and fought against them the same day, and the Danish-men got the victory. That same year before midwinter Charles king of the Franks died: he was killed by a wild boar; and one year before this his brother died: he too had the western kingdom; and they were both sons of Louis who likewise had the western kingdom and died in the year when the sun was eclipsed: he was son of Charles whose daughter Æthelwulf, king of the West-Saxons, had for his queen. And the same year a large ship-host drew together against the Old-Saxons; and there was great fighting twice in the

¹ Rex Ælfrēdus misit elemosinam, quam voverat dum sederet contra exercitum cum paucis, cum multi essent inimici, Romae.

—F Lat.

² E.

³ Here died the benevolent bishop Æthelwold. Hic obiit Æthelwoldus episcopus Wentoniensis, et electus est in loco ejus Alfegus, qui alio nomine vocabatur Godwinus—inserted between the lines and on the margin of MS. F by a later scribe, wrongly; the original scribe has the entry rightly under 984.

year, and the Saxons had the victory, and the Frisians were there with them. The same year Charles succeeded to the western kingdom and to all the kingdom on this side of the Wendel sea [Mediterranean] and beyond that sea¹—in like manner as his great-grandfather had it with the exception of the Lidwicas [Bretons]. This Charles was son of Louis; this Louis was brother of Charles, who was father of Judith whom king Æthelwulf had; and they were the sons of Louis; this Louis was son of the elder Charles; this Charles was son of Pepin. And the same year died the good pope Marinus who at the prayer of Alfred king of the West-Saxons freed the school of the English race, and he sent him great gifts and part of the rood on which Christ suffered. And the same year the host in East-Anglia broke peace with king Alfred.

✓ 886 [A]. Here the host, which before had gone eastward, fared westward again and thence inland up the Seine and there took up winter-quarters [at the city of Paris].² The same year king Alfred occupied London, and all the English race submitted to him which was free from the thralldom of the Danish-men; and then he entrusted the town to the keeping of Æthelred aldorman.

887 [A]. Here the host fared inland over the bridge at Paris and thence up along the Seine as far as the Marne [and thence up the Marne]² to Chézy and then settled there and on the Yonne—two winters in the two places. And the same year died Charles king of the Franks; and six weeks before he died, Arnulf his brother's son bereft him of the kingdom. And then was the kingdom divided into five, and five kings were consecrated thereto. This was done, however, by permission of Arnulf; and they said that they would hold it from his hand because none of them on the father's side was born thereto save him alone. Then Arnulf dwelt on the land east of the Rhine; and Rudolf succeeded to the middle kingdom, and Odo to

¹ *I.e.*, Italy.

² E.

the western part, and Beorngar and Witha to the land of the Lombards and to the lands on the far side of the mountain; and that they held in great discord and fought two folk-fights and oft and many times laid waste the land, and each repeatedly drove out the other. And the same year that the host fared inland over the bridge at Paris, Æthelhelm aldorman carried the alms of the West-Saxons and of king Alfred to Rome.

888 [A]. Here Beocca aldorman carried the alms of the West-Saxons and of king Alfred to Rome. And queen Æthelswith, who was king Alfred's sister, died [on the way to Rome]¹ and her body lies at Pavia. And the same year archbishop Æthelred² and Æthelwold aldorman died in one month.

889 [A]. In this year was no journey to Rome save that king Alfred sent two runners with letters.

890 [A]. Here abbot Beornhelm carried the alms of the West-Saxons and of king Alfred to Rome. And Guthrum the northern king died, whose baptismal name was Æthelstan: he was king Alfred's godson and he abode in East Anglia and was the first to occupy that land. And the same year the host fared from the Seine to St. Lo, which is between Brittany and France; and the Bretons fought against them and got the victory and drove them out into a river and drowned many. [Here was Plegmund chosen of God³ and of all His saints.]⁴

891 [A].—Here the host fared eastward; and king Arnulf with the East-Franks and Saxons and Bavarians fought against that part which was mounted before the ships came up, and put them to flight. And three Scots came to king Alfred in a boat without any oars from Ireland, whence they had stolen away because they would for love of God be in a state of pilgrimage—they recked not where. The boat in which they

¹ F. ² The archbishop of Canterbury.—F.

³ And of all folk to the archbishopric in Canterbury.—F.

⁴ From a later hand in A. "Hic Plegmundus archiepiscopus a Deo et omni populo electus est."—E.

came was made of two hides and a half; and they took with them provisions sufficient for seven nights, and then on the seventh night they came ashore in Cornwall and straightway fared to king Alfred. Thus were they named—Dubslane and Macbeth and Mælinmun.¹ And Suibhne the best teacher who was amongst the Scots died.

892² [A]. And the same year after Easter, about Rogation week or before, appeared the star which in Book-Latin³ is called cometa; some men say in English that it is a hairy star because a long radiance stands out from it—sometimes on one side and sometimes on each side.

893 [A]. Here in this year the great host, of which we formerly spoke, came again from the eastern kingdom westward to Bunne⁴ and there was shipped so that they crossed in one passage with horses and everything; and they came to land at the mouth of the Lymne with two hundred and fifty ships. The mouth is in the east of Kent at the east end of the great wood which we call Andred: the wood is in length from east to west one hundred and twenty miles or longer, and thirty miles broad; the river of which we formerly spoke flows out of the weald. In this river they pulled up their ships as far as the weald—four miles from the outside of the mouth—and there stormed a fort; within the fort sat a few churls and it was half built.

Soon after that Hæsten with eighty ships landed at the mouth of the Thames and built himself a fort at Milton; and the other host [did the like] at Appledore.

¹ Nam quartus socius eorum obiit nomine Suifnet qui fuit peritissimus doctor. Et eodem anno apparuit cometa stella circa Ascensionem Domini.—F. Lat. The Anglo-Saxon of F follows the other MSS. in its account of Suibhne's death. E alone omits all mention of the three "Scots."

² At this point, after writing the number 892, ends the first hand in A. Three or four lines are left and a new hand begins; note that B, C, D, F Lat. all place comet's appearance in the same year as the arrival of the "Scots."

³ In Latin.—D.

⁴ The modern Boulogne.

[Hic obiit Wulfhere Northan-hymbrorum archiepiscopus.]¹

894 [A]. In this year, that was about a twelve-month after they had built a fort in the eastern kingdom, the Northumbrians and East-Angles had given oaths to king Alfred, and the East-Angles six important hostages; and nevertheless contrary to their pledges, as oft as the other hosts fared out in full force, they also fared out either with them or on their own behalf. Thereupon king Alfred gathered together his fyrd and fared until he encamped between the two hosts in the space where close at hand he had the protection of the woods and of the water—so that he might reach either of them if they strove to seek any open country. From this time they (*i.e.* the enemy) always fared along the weald in bands and troops on whichever side the fyrd happened not to be, but they were attacked almost every day, either by day or by night, by other bands both from the fyrd and also from the towns. The king had divided his fyrd into two so that they were always half of them at home, half of them in the field: besides those men whose duty it was to garrison the towns. The whole host did not come out of their entrenchments oftener than twice—once when they first came to land before the fyrd was assembled: a second time when they would go forth from their entrenchments. Then had they taken much booty and would carry it thence northward over the Thames into Essex towards their ships. But the fyrd intercepted them in front and fought against them at Farnham and put the host to flight and retook the booty; and they fled over the Thames without [looking for] any ford, then up along the Colne into an island. There the fyrd besieged them from outside so long as they had any provisions; but at length they had stayed their term of service and had consumed their provisions: the king at the time was on his way thitherwards with the division which was serving with him. While he

¹ E.

was on his way thither and the other fyrd was gone homewards, the Danish-men remained there behind because their king had been wounded in the battle so that they might not carry him away.

Then those who dwell in Northumbria and East-Anglia gathered some hundred ships and fared south about; and some forty ships north about and besieged a fort in Devonshire by the north sea; and those who fared south about besieged Exeter. When the king heard that, he turned him westward towards Exeter with the whole of the fyrd save a very small portion of the folk [who went] east.

These fared onwards until they came to London; and then with the townsmen and the reinforcements, which came to them from the west, fared east to Benfleet. Hæsten had come there with his host which before had established itself at Milton; and the great host was also come thereto which before had established itself at Appledore on the mouth of the Lymne. The fort at Benfleet Hæsten had ere this constructed and was at the time gone out plundering; but the great host was inside. Then came they thereto and put the host to flight and stormed the fort and took all that was within it both of property and of women and also of children and brought the whole to London; and all the ships they either broke in pieces or burnt or brought to London or to Rochester. And they brought the wife of Hæsten and his two sons to the king; and he gave them up to him again because one of them was his godson and the other was Æthelred aldorman's: they had received them at baptism before Hæsten came to Benfleet, and at that time Hæsten had given him hostages and oaths, and the king had also given him many gifts; and so likewise when he gave up the boy and the woman. But as soon as they came to Benfleet and the fort was constructed, then he harried his realm—that very part which was in the keeping of Æthelred, his [son's] godfather; and again this second time, he had gone out harrying the same district when his fort was destroyed.

Now the king with the fyrd had turned westward towards Exeter—as I said before—and the host had besieged the city; but when he arrived there, they went to their ships.

While the king was thus busied with the host there in the west, both the hosts had drawn together at Shoebury in Essex and there had constructed a fort, and then both together fared up along the Thames and great reinforcements came to them both from the East-Angles and from the Northumbrians. Then they fared up along the Thames till they reached the Severn; then up along the Severn.¹ Then Æthelred aldorman and Æthelhelm aldorman and Æthelnoth aldorman and the king's thegns, who were stationed in the fortified places, gathered [forces] from every town to the east of the Parret, both to the west and to the east of Selwood and also to the north of the Thames and the west of the Severn and also some part of the North-Welsh race. When they were all assembled, they overtook from behind the host at Buttington on the banks of the Severn and there besieged them on either side in a fortification. When they had remained there many weeks on both sides of the river, and the king was in the west in Devon against the ship-host, when they (*i.e.* the enemy) were distressed for want of food and had eaten a great part of their horses and the others were starved with hunger; then went they out against the men, who were encamped on the east bank of the river, and fought against them; and the christians had the victory. And there was slain Ordheh king's thegn and also many other king's thegns were slain; and of the Danish-men was a very great slaughter made and that part, which got away thence, was saved by flight. When they had come into Essex to their fort and to their ships, then the survivors again gathered a great host from among the East-Angles and the Northumbrians before winter and secured their wives and their

¹ Fared up along the Thames and along the Severn.—D.

ships and their wealth in East-Anglia and fared at one stretch day and night until they arrived at a deserted city in Wirral which is called Chester. Then was the fyrd unable to overtake them from behind before they were within the fort: nevertheless they besieged the fort from outside for some two days and took all cattle, that were without there, and slew the men, whom they were able to intercept without the fort, and burnt all corn and with their horses devoured [the pasture] in the whole neighbourhood. And this was about a twelve-month after they [*i.e.* the enemy] first came hither over sea.

895 [A]. And then soon after that, in this year, the host fared from Wirral into North-Wales for they were unable to stay there; this was because they had been deprived both of the cattle and of the corn which they had got by plunder. When they had turned again out North-Wales with the booty, which they had taken there, then they fared through the land of the Northumbrians and of the East-Angles so that the fyrd might not reach them before they came to the eastern part of Essex to an island that is out on the sea which is called Mersea. And when the host which had besieged Exeter turned back homewards, they harried in Sussex near Chichester; and the townsmen put them to flight and slew many hundreds of them and took some of their ships.

Then the same year before winter¹ the Danish-men, who had settled in Mersea, pulled their ships up the Thames and thence up the Lea. This was about two years after they had come thither over sea.

896 [A]. In the same year the fore-mentioned host erected a fort on the Lea twenty miles above London. After this in summer a great body of the townsmen and also of other folk fared until they arrived at the fort of the Danish-men; and there they were put to flight and some four king's thegns slain. After this, in the autumn, the king encamped near to the town

¹ Early in winter.—B, C, D.

while the people reaped the corn so that the Danish-men might not deprive them of the crop. / Then one day the king rode up along the river and observed where the river might be obstructed so that they would be unable to bring out their ships. And then they did thus—they constructed two forts on the two sides of the river. When they had just begun the work and had encamped thereby, the host perceived that they should not be able to bring out their ships. Then they abandoned them and went across country till they arrived at Bridgenorth by the Severn; and there they erected a fort. Then the fyrd rode westwards after the host, and the men from London fetched the ships: and all, which they might not bring away, they broke up and those which were serviceable they brought to London; and the Danish-men had secured their wives in East-Anglia before they fared out from their fort. Then they settled for the winter at Bridgenorth. This was about three years after they had come hither over sea to the mouth of the Lymne.

897 [A]. Then afterwards, in the summer of this year, the host dispersed, some for East Anglia, others for Northumbria; and they who were moneyless got themselves ships there and fared south over sea to the Seine. By the mercy of God the host had not utterly broken the English race; but during these three years they were much more broken by a plague among cattle and men and most of all by this, that many of the best king's thegns in the land died during these three years; (one of whom was Swithulf bishop in Rochester and [others were] Ceolmund aldorman in Kent and Beorhtulf aldorman in Essex and Wulfred aldorman in Hampshire and Ealhheard bishop at Dorchester and Eadulf king's thegn in Sussex and Beornulf bailiff¹ in Winchester and Ecgulf king's horse-thegn and many also with them, though I have named the most distinguished.

The same year the hosts in East-Anglia and in

¹ The original has "wic-gefera" or the reeve of a wick.

Northumbria harassed the land of the West-Saxons chiefly on the south coast, by marauding bands, most of all by their light boats which they had built many years before. Then king Alfred commanded long ships to be built to meet these light boats; they were full-nigh twice as long as the others; some had sixty oars, others more; they were both swifter and steadier and higher, too, than the others. They were shapen neither in the Frisian manner nor in the Danish; but as it seemed to him they might be of most avail. Then at a certain period of the same year came six ships to the Isle of Wight and there did much evil both in Devon and nearly everywhere along the sea-coast. Then the king bade [his men] fare thither with nine of the new ships, and they obstructed the mouth in front of them on the open sea. Then they fared with three ships out against them, and three lay in the inner part of the mouth on dry ground; for the men had gone inland. Then took they two of the three ships at the outside of the mouth and slew the men, and the one escaped; in which also the men were slain save five: they got away because the ships of the others had grounded. They were aground, too, very disadvantageously; three lay aground on that side of the sea on which the Danish ships were aground, and all the rest upon the other side, so that no one of them could get to the others. But when the water had ebbed many furlongs from the ships, then the Danish-men went from their three ships to the other three, which were left aground by the tide on their side, and there they fought. There was slain Lucumon king's reeve and Wulfheard Frisian and Æbbe Frisian and Æthelhere Frisian and Æthelferth king's geneat and of all the men, Frisian and English, sixty-two; and of the Danish-men one hundred and twenty. Then, however, the tide came to the Danish ships before the christians could push theirs off, and therefore they rowed out and away. They were then damaged to such a degree that they could not row round the land of the South-Saxons; and there the

sea cast two of them on land, and the men were led to the king at Winchester; and he commanded them to be hanged; and the men who were in the one ship came to East-Anglia, sorely wounded. The same summer perished no less than twenty ships, with their men and everything, on the south coast. The same year died Wulfric king's horse-thegn, who was also Welsh-reeve.

898 [A]. Here in this year died Æthelm aldorman of Wiltshire nine nights before midsummer: and here died Heahstan, who was bishop in London.

901 [A]. This year died Alfred son of Æthelwulf six nights before All-hallowmass (Oct. 26th). He was king over the whole English race, save that part which was under the dominion of the Danes; and he held the kingdom one and a half less than thirty winters [twenty-eight winters and a half year.]¹ And then Edward his son succeeded to the kingdom.

Then Æthelwald [the atheling],¹ his uncle's son, seized the homestead at Wimborne and the one at Twinham without leave of the king and his witan. Then rode the king with the fyrd until he encamped at Badbury, near Wimborne; and Æthelwald sat within the homestead with the men who had submitted to him; and he had barricaded all the entrances to him and said that he would do one of two things—or there live or there lie. But under shelter of this, he stole away by night and sought the host in Northumbria [and they received him for their king and submitted to him].¹ And the king commanded that he should be ridden after; but they were unable to overtake him. Then they captured the woman, whom he had before taken without leave of the king and against the command of the bishops; for she had previously been consecrated a nun. And in this same year died Æthelred, who was aldorman in Devonshire, four weeks before king Alfred.

902 [c]. Here Ealhswith died; and the same year was the battle at the Holme between the Kentish-men and the Danish-men.

¹ MS. D.

903 [A]. Here died Athulf aldorman, brother of Ealhswith, [the mother of king Edward]¹ and Virgilius, the abbot from Ireland, and Grimbald mass-priest on viii id. July (July 8th); [and the same year was the consecration of the New Minster at Winchester and the arrival of (the bones of) St. Judoc].²

904 [A]. Here came Æthelwald hither over sea into Essex with the fleet with which he was.

904 [D]. Here came Æthelwald hither over sea with all the fleet which he was able to obtain; and he was submitted to in Essex. [Here the moon was eclipsed].³

905. Here Æthelwald enticed the host in East Anglia to a breach of the peace, so that they harried over the land of the Mercians until they came to Cricklade, and there they fared over the Thames and took, both in Bredon and thereabout, all that they could lay hands on, and then turned homewards again. Then king Edward fared after them, as speedily as he might gather his fyrd, and overran all their land between the dikes and the Ouse, all as far north as the fens. When after this he would withdraw thence, he commanded it to be proclaimed through the whole fyrd that they should all withdraw together. Then the Kentish-men remained there behind, contrary to his orders and seven messengers whom he had sent to them. Then the host surrounded them there and fought them; and there was slain Sigulf aldorman and Sigelm aldorman and Eadwald king's thegn and abbot Cenulf and Sigebert son of Sigulf and Eadwald son of Acca and many also with them, though I have named the most distinguished. And on the side of the Danish-men were slain Eoric their king and Æthelwald atheling, who had enticed him to the breach of the peace, and Beorhtsige son of Beorhtnoth atheling and Ysopa hold and Oskytel hold and very many also with them, whom we are now unable to name. And there on either hand was great slaughter made; and of the Danish-

¹ MS. D.² MS. F.³ MS. C.

men there were more slain, though they had possession of the place of slaughter. And Ealhswith died the same year. [Here a comet appeared on the thirteenth before the Kalends of November (Oct. 20th)].¹

906 [A]. Here in this year died Alfred, who was reeve at Bath. And in the same year peace was concluded at Yttingaford, even as king Edward ordained, both with the East-Angles and with the Northumbrians.

906 [E]. Here king Edward, from necessity, concluded a peace both with the host of the East Angles and with the Northumbrians.

907 [C]. Here was Chester restored.

909 [A]. Here died Denewulf, who was bishop in Winchester.

909 [C].² Here was St. Oswald's body carried from Bardney into Mercia.

909 [D]. Here the Mercians and the West-Saxons fought against the host near Tettenhall on viii id. Aug. (Aug. 6th) and had the victory; and the same year Æthelflæd built Bremsburh.

910 [A]. Here Frithestan succeeded to the bishopric in Winchester; and after that bishop Asser died, who was bishop at Sherborne. And the same year king Edward sent out the fyrd both from Wessex and from Mercia, and it made very great harrying on the northern host, both on men and on every kind of cattle, and slew many of the Danish-men; and they were therein five weeks.

910 [E]. Here the English host and the Danish fought at Tettenhall. And Æthelred, chief of the Mercians, died; and king Edward took possession of London and of Oxford and of all the lands which belonged thereto.

¹ MS. D. In the account of the above campaign MS. D varies slightly from the Parker MS.; (i) l. 6: and then turned east homewards; (ii) l. 22: . . . was slain king Eoric, and Æthelwald atheling, whom they had chosen for king, . . .

² The translation of St. Oswald's body is recorded by MS. D under 906.

And a great ship-host came hither from the south, from Brittany, and greatly harried by the Severn; but there they afterwards mostly all perished.

910 [c]. In this year the English and the Danes fought at Tettenhall; and the English took the victory. And the same year Æthelflæd built the fortress at Bremesburh.

911 [A]. Here the host in Northumbria broke the peace and despised every agreement which king Edward and his witan offered them, and harried over the land of the Mercians. And the king had gathered together some hundred ships and was then in Kent, and the ships fared to the south-east along the sea towards him. Then thought the host that the most part of his force was in the ships, and that they might fare unopposed wheresoever they would. When the king learned that they fared a-plundering, then sent he his fyrd both from Wessex and from Mercia; and they overtook the host from behind as it was on its way homewards, and fought against them and put the host to flight and slew many thousands of them; and there was slain king Ecwils, [and king Healden and earl Ohter and earl Scurfa and Athulf hold and Agmund hold.]¹

911 [c]. Then the next year after this died Æthelred lord of the Mercians.

912 [A]. Here died Æthelred aldorman in Mercia; and king Edward took possession of London and of Oxford and of all the lands which belonged thereto. [Here Æthelflæd lady of the Mercians came to Scergeat on the holy eve of the "Inventio Sanctae Crucis" (May 3rd); and there built the fortress, and the same year the one at Bridgenorth.]²

913 [A]. Here in this year, about Martinmas, king Edward commanded the northern fortress to be built

¹ MS. D. B and C continue the list after Athulf hold thus: and Benesing hold and Aulaf the black and Thurferth hold and Osferd Hlytte and Guthferth hold and Agmund hold and Guthferth.

² MS. C.

at Hertford between the Maran, the Beane and the Lea. And then, after that, in the summer, between Rogation days and midsummer, king Edward fared with a part of his force to Maldon in Essex and encamped there, whilst the fortress at Witham was constructed and built; and a good deal of the folk, who were before under the dominion of the Danishmen, submitted to him; and in the meanwhile a part of his force constructed the fortress at Hertford on the south side of the Lea.

913 [c].¹ Here, God granting, Æthelflæd lady of the Mercians fared with all the Mercians to Tamworth and there built the fortress early in the summer and after this, before Lammas, the one at Stafford.

914 [c]. Then after this, in the next year, the one at Eddisbury, early in the summer; and again in the same year, late in the autumn, the one at Warwick.

915 [c]. Then after this, in the next year, after midwinter, the one at Chirk and the one at Warburton; and the same year, before midwinter, the one at Runcorn.

916 [c]. Here abbot Egbert was guiltless slain, before midsummer, on xvi kal. July (June 16th); the same day was the festival of the martyr St. Ciricius and his companions. And three nights after, Æthelflæd sent the fyrd into Wales and stormed Brecon and there took the king's wife, with four and thirty persons.

917 [A].² Here in this year, after Easter, the host rode out from Northampton and Leicester and broke the peace and slew many men at Hook Norton and thereabout. And then very speedily after that, when the one came home, they got ready another band which

¹ MS. D has simply: Here Æthelflæd built a fortress at Tamworth and also at Stafford.

² There is a chronological difficulty at this point in the Parker MS. which lasts to the end of the reign of Edward the Elder (see the note on the year 901). D is more correct in placing this annal and the following one under the dates 914 and 915. In the latter year D has an addition: Here in this year Warwick was built.

rode out in the direction of Leighton Buzzard; and then were the inhabitants aware of them and fought against them and put them to full flight and recaptured everything which they had taken, and also a great deal of their horses and of their weapons.

917 [c]. Here, before Lammas, Æthelflæd lady of the Mercians, God helping her, got possession of the fortress, which is called Derby, with all who owed obedience thereto; and there also were slain, within the gates, four of her thegns who were dear to her.

918 [A]. Here in this year a great ship-host [of the enemy] came over hither from the south, from Brittany, and with it two earls, Ohtor and Hroald; and they fared west about till they arrived within the mouth of the Severn, and they harried in Wales everywhere by the sea-coast where they pleased. And they seized Cameleac, bishop in Archenfield, and led him with them to their ships; and then king Edward ransomed him again with forty pounds. Then after that, the whole host landed and would still fare a-plundering towards Archenfield. Then met them the men of Hereford and of Gloucester and of the nearest fortresses, and fought against them and put them to flight and slew the earl Hroald and a brother of the other earl Ohtor and many of the host; and drove them into an enclosure and there besieged them, until they delivered hostages to them on the condition that they would depart from king Edward's dominions. And the king had contrived so that his forces occupied, against them, the south side of the mouth of the Severn, from Cornwall in the west eastwards as far as the mouth of the Avon—with the result that on that side they dared not attack the land. Nevertheless they stole inland by night on two occasions; once to the east of Watchet and the other time to Porlock. But they were beaten on either occasion, so that few of them got away save those alone who swam out to the ships. And then they settled, out on the island of Flatholme, until such time as they were quite destitute of food; and many men died of hunger, because they

could not obtain any food. They fared thence to South-Wales and then out to Ireland; and this was in the autumn. And then, after that, in the same year, before Martinmas, king Edward fared with his fyrd to Buckingham and there sat four weeks; and, ere he fared thence, he constructed the fortresses on either side of the river. And earl Thurcytel sought him for lord, and all the holds¹ and nearly all the chief men who owed obedience to Bedford and also many who owed obedience to Northampton.

918 [c]. Here, in the early part of the year, by God's help, she² got into her power peaceably the fortress at Leicester, and the most part of the host which owed obedience thereto became subject to her; and the York-vikings had also come to an agreement with her; some having given in pledge and others having bound themselves with oaths that they were willing to be in her government [*or* at her command]. But very soon after they had agreed upon this, she died at Tamworth, twelve nights before midsummer, the eighth year from the time when she began to hold with lawful authority the rule of the Mercians; and her body lies in Gloucester, within the east porch of St. Peter's church.

918 [B]. Here Æthelflæd lady of the Mercians died.

919 [A]. Here in this year, before Martinmas, king Edward fared with the fyrd to Bedford and got possession of the town; and nearly all the townsmen, who formerly dwelt there, submitted to him; and he sat there four weeks and commanded the fortress to be built on the south side of the river before he fared thence.

919 [c]. Here the daughter of Æthelred lord of the Mercians was also deprived of all dominion in Mercia and taken away into Wessex, three weeks before midwinter; she was called Ælfwyn.

920 [A]. Here in this year, before midsummer, king

¹ MS. D has "earls" instead of "holds."

² *I.e.*, Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians.

Edward fared to Maldon and founded the fortress and built it before he fared thence. And the same year earl Thurcytel fared over sea into France, and the men who would follow him, with the peace and aid of king Edward.

921 [A]. Here in this year, before Easter, king Edward gave orders to seize the fort at Towcester and to repair it. And again, after that, in the same year, during Rogation days, he commanded the fort at Wigmore to be built.

The same summer, between Lammas and midsummer, the host broke the peace from Northampton and from Leicester and thence from the north, and fared to Towcester and fought against the fort the whole day and thought that they would be able to take it by storm. But nevertheless the folk, who were within, defended it until a larger force came to them; and they abandoned the fortress and fared away. Then, very soon after that, they fared out again by night with a marauding band and came upon men who were unprepared and took no small number both of men and of cattle between Bernwood and Aylesbury.

At the same time the host fared from Huntingdon and from East-Anglia and constructed the encampment at Tempsford and inhabited it and built [there]; and abandoned the other at Huntingdon and thought that from thence they could, by warfare and strife, seize more of the land again. And they fared forth until they arrived at Bedford; and then the men, who were within, fared out against them and fought with them and put them to flight and slew a good deal of them.

Then again, after that, a large host drew together from East-Anglia and from the land of the Mercians and fared to the fort at Wigmore and besieged it and fought against it far on in the day and took the cattle thereabout. And nevertheless the men, who were within, defended the fort; and then [the host] abandoned the fort and fared away.

Then, after that, in the same summer much folk within king Edward's dominion drew together from the nearest forts—those whose turn it was to go¹—and fared to Tempsford and beset the fort and fought against it till they took it by storm, and slew the king and earl Toglos and earl Manna, his son, and his brother and all those, who were within and would defend themselves, and took the others and all that was therein.

Then very soon after this, much folk drew together in the autumn, both from Kent and from Surrey and from Essex and everywhere from the nearest forts, and fared to Colchester and besieged the fort and fought against it until they conquered, and slew all the folk and took all that was therein, save the men who fled away over the wall.

Then after that, still in the same autumn, a large host drew together from East-Anglia, both of the land-host and of the vikings whom they had enticed to their aid. And they thought that they would be able to avenge their wrongs, and fared to Maldon and besieged the fort and fought against it until a greater force came from without to the help of the townsmen; and then the host abandoned the fort and fared away. And then the men from the fort fared out after them, and those also who came from without to their aid; and they put the host to flight and slew many hundreds of them, both of the pirates and of the others.

Then, very shortly after, in the same autumn, king Edward fared with the fyrd of the West Saxons to Passenham and sat there while they fortified the fort at Towcester with a stone wall. And earl Thurferth and the holds and all the host, which owed obedience to Northampton north as far as the Welland, submitted to him and sought him for their lord and protector.

¹ Lit. = who might go at the time; the phrase probably refers to the system of military service established by king Alfred (see under the year 894).

And when this division of the fyrd went home, then another fared out and took possession of the fort at Huntingdon and, by command of king Edward, repaired and rebuilt it where it had been before broken down; and all the folk who were left of the inhabitants of the country submitted to king Edward and sought his peace and his protection.

Then after this, still in the same year, before Martinmas, king Edward fared with the fyrd of the West-Saxons to Colchester and repaired the fort and rebuilt it where it had been before broken down; and much folk submitted to him, both in East-Anglia and in Essex, who before were under the dominion of the Danes. And all the host in East-Anglia swore an agreement with him, that they would all which he would and would give peace to everything to which the king would give peace, both by sea and land. And the host which owed obedience to Cambridge chose him especially for their lord and protector; and confirmed it with oaths, even as he then decreed it.

921 [C]. Here king Edward built the fort at the mouth of the Cleddau.

921 [E]. Here king Sihtric slew Niel his brother.

922 [A]. Here in this year, between Rogation days and midsummer, king Edward fared with the fyrd to Stamford and commanded the fort to be built on the south side of the river; and all the folk who owed obedience to the northern town submitted to him and sought him for their lord. And then, during the sojourn which he made there, Æthelflæd his sister died at Tamworth, twelve nights before midsummer; and then he surprised the fort at Tamworth, and the whole population in the land of the Mercians, who before were subject to Æthelflæd, submitted to him. And the kings in North-Wales, Howel and Cleauc and Ieothwel, and the whole North-Welsh race sought him for their lord. Fared he thence to Nottingham and conquered the fort and commanded it to be repaired and occupied both by Englishmen and by Danish; and all the folk who were settled in the land

of the Mercians, both Danish and English, submitted to him.

923 [A]. Here in this year, after autumn, king Edward fared with the fyrd to Thelwall and commanded the fort to be built and occupied and manned; and commanded also another fyrd from the people of the Mercians, while he sat there, to conquer Manchester in Northumbria and repair and man it. [Here died archbishop Plegmund.]¹ [Here king Regnold won York.]²

924 [A]. Here in this year, before midsummer, king Edward fared with the fyrd to Nottingham and commanded the fort to be built on the south side of the river, opposite to the other, and the bridge over the Trent, between the two forts. And thence he fared into the Peak district to Bakewell and commanded one fort to be built in the neighbourhood there and garrisoned. And then chose him for father and for lord the king of Scots and the whole nation of the Scots and Regnold and the son of Eadulf and all those who dwell in Northumbria, both English and Danish and Northmen and others, and also the king of the Strathclyde Welsh and all the Strathclyde Welsh.

924 [F]. Here king Edward was chosen for father and for lord by the king of Scots and by the Scots and by king Regnold and by all the Northumbrians and also by the king of the Strathclyde Welsh and by all the Strathclyde Welsh.

924 [c]. Here king Edward died in Mercia at Farndon; and very soon afterwards [about sixteen days]³ Ælfweard his son died at Oxford; and their bodies lie at Winchester. And Æthelstan was chosen king by the Mercians and consecrated at Kingston. And he gave his sister [oversea to Otto son of the king of the Old-Saxons].³

¹ By a later hand in A.

² MSS. E and D.

³ MS. D. The Mercian Register ends here incompletely in B and C. An asterisk marks the lacuna in MS. C; probably, therefore, the scribe was unable to decipher his original. But the scribe of MS. D seems to have been more fortunate.

925 [A]. This year king Edward died, and Æthelstan his son succeeded to the kingdom. [And St. Dunstan was born, and Wulfhelm succeeded to the archbishopric in Canterbury].¹

925 [D]. Here king Æthelstan and Sihtric king of the Northumbrians met each other at Tamworth on the iii kal. Feb. (Jan. 30th); and Æthelstan gave him his sister.

925 [E].² Here bishop Wulfhelm was consecrated; and the same year king Edward died.

926 [D]. Here fiery rays of light appeared in the north part of the sky. And Sihtric perished; and king Æthelstan succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians. And he reduced all the kings who were in this island: first, Howel king of the West-Welsh and Constantine king of Scots and Owen king of the Gwent-folk and Ealdred son of Ealdulf of Bam-borough; and they confirmed the peace with pledge and with oaths, in the place which is called "at Eamot," on iiii id. Julii (July 12th), and renounced every kind of idolatry; and after that they parted in peace.

927 [E]. Here king Æthelstan expelled king Guthferth. And here archbishop Wulfhelm fared to Rome [pro pallio].³

928 [F].⁴ William succeeded to Normandy and held it fifteen years.

931 [A]. Here Byrnstan was ordained bishop to Winchester on iiii kl. Junii (May 29th); and he held the bishopric two years and a half.

931 [F]. Here died Frithestan bishop of Winchester, and Byrnstan was blessed in his stead.

932 [A]. Here died bishop Frithestan.

¹ From a later hand in A.

² Under 924 MS. E has: Here king Edward died; and Æthelstan his son succeeded to the kingdom; but this has been crossed out—the act, in Mr. Plummer's opinion, of a later hand.

³ MS. F.

⁴ MS. E has: "Willelm suscepit regnum, et xv annis regnavit." This Latin entry is also in MS. F; and above it the scribe has inserted the Anglo-Saxon version, translated above.

- 933 [A].¹ Here king Æthelstan fared into Scotland, both with a land-host and with a ship-host, and harried a great part of it. And bishop Byrnstan died at Winchester on All Saints' Day. [Here Edwin atheling was drowned at sea.]²
- 934 [A].³ Here bishop Ælfheah succeeded to the bishopric [in Winchester].
- 937 [A]. Here king Æthelstan, lord of earls, the warriors' ring-giver, and his brother too, Edmund atheling, in battle won life-long glory with edges of swords near Brunnanburh; Edward's children the shield-wall cleft, hew'd the war-shields with weapons of war; such was their nature, from ancestors sprung, that they oft in conflict 'gainst every foe our land should defend, our treasure and homes. Foemen perished, the folk of the Scots and the ocean-farers death-doomed fell; the field was wet with warriors' blood, what time the sun, glorious star, God's bright candle
- 15—the Eternal Lord's—glided o'er the earth at morning-tide till the noble creature sank to its setting. There lay many warriors, by javelins slain, men of the North over shield shot; so the Scots too—
- 20 weary seed of war. Onward the West-Saxons the live-long day in warring bands followed in the track of the hateful nations; fiercely from behind hew'd the battle-fleets with sharpened swords. / The Mercians withheld not
- 25 hard hand-play from any of the warriors who with Anlaf, o'er the tumult of the waves, in the ship's bosom sought this land,

¹ MSS. D, E, F describes Æthelstan's expedition into Scotland with the same words as MS. A; but the annal is placed in the next year.

² MS. E.

³ MS. F, after recording Æthelstan's expedition, adds: "et Byrnstanus episcopus Uuentoniensis obiit." In 935 is placed the succession of Ælfheah.

doom'd for the fight. Five young kings
 on that battle-stead lay low,
 30 by the sword put to sleep; so seven, too,
 of Anlaf's earls and numbers of the host—
 vikings and Scots. There was put to flight
 the leader of the Northmen, impelled by need
 towards his ship's prow with a small band;
 35 into the deep pressed the bark, the king departed
 on the fallow flood, saved his life.
 — There, too, the aged Constantine
 north to his country fared in flight;
 no need to boast had the hoary warrior
 40 of that meeting of swords; he was bereft of his kinsmen,
 deprived of his friends, on that battle-stead
 in conflict slain; and his son he left,
 young in war, on the field of slaughter
 destroyed by wounds. No need to exult
 45 had the gray-haired warrior, old and crafty,
 in that bill-clashing —nor Anlaf the more;
 with the remnants of their host they had no need to
 laugh
 because they were the better on the battle-stead,
 in deeds of war, in the rush of standards,
 50 in the flight of spears, in the strife of men,
 in the clash of weapons, when they played
 on the field of slaughter with Edward's sons.
 Departed then the Northmen in their nail'd barks
 —those whom the darts left— into Dynges mere,
 55 o'er the deep water Dublin to seek,
 Ireland once more, overcome by defeat.
 Likewise the brothers both together,
 king and atheling, sought their country,
 the West-Saxons' land, in war exulting.
 60 They left behind them, the carcasses to enjoy,
 the swart raven with dark coat
 and horned beak, and the gray-coated
 eagle, white behind, the greedy war-hawk,
 and that gray beast, the wolf in the weald,
 65 carrion to devour. No slaughter has there been
 ever yet greater in this island,

- of folk laid low, before this clashing
of edges of swords, —from what books tell us
and old sages— since hither from the east
- 70 Angles and Saxons came to land,
sought Britain over the broad seas,
the proud war-smiths overcame the Welsh,
the glory-eager earls conquered this land.
- 937 [F]. Here king Æthelstan and Edmund, his brother,
led the fyrd to Brunanburh and there fought against
Anlaf, and Christ aiding, had the victory and there
slew five kings and eight earls. [Hic factum est illud
magnum et famosum bellum in Brunanbyri.]
- 940 [A].¹ Here king Athelstan died [at Gloucester]² on
vi kl. Nov. (Oct. 27th), forty-one winters—save one
night—after the death of king Ælfred. And Edmund
atheling [his brother]³ succeeded to the kingdom, and
he was then eighteen winters old; and king Æthelstan
reigned fourteen years and ten weeks. [Then was
Wulfhelm archbishop in Kent.]
- 941 [A].¹ Here king Edmund, lord of the Angles,
protector of men, belov'd deed-doer,
overran Mercia where the Dore separates
Whitewell's gate and Humber's river,
5 broad sea-stream. Five boroughs—
Leicester and Lincoln,
Nottingham and Stamford too,
and Derby— were by need constrained
erst under the Danes, under the Northmen,
10 in heathen fetter-bonds
a long time until again redeemed them
through his worthiness Edward's son,
the warrior's bulwark, Edmund king.
[King Edmund] received king Anlaf at baptism; and
the same year, a good long space after, he received
king Ragnold at the bishop's hands. (And here died
Wulfhelm) the archbishop.⁴
- 941 [D]. Here the Northumbrians were false to their

¹ Originally 941 and 942 respectively; see note on 893 A.

² MS. D. ³ MS. E.

⁴ Conjectural restoration of a lacuna in the MS. by Plummer.

plighted troth and chose Anlaf from Ireland for their king.

942 [E]. Here king Anlaf died. Et Ricardus uetus suscepit regnum, et regnauit an. lii.

943 [D]. Here Anlaf stormed Tamworth, and great slaughter was made on either side; and the Danes got the victory, and much war-plunder they carried away with them; there during the pillage was Wulfrun taken.

Here king Edmund besieged king Anlaf and archbishop Wulfstan in Leicester; and he would have taken them, were it not that they escaped out of the town by night. And, after that, Anlaf gained king Edmund's friendship; and the king Edmund then received king Anlaf at baptism and royally gifted him. And the same year, a good long time after, he received king Ragnold at the bishop's hands. [Here king Edmund entrusted Glastonbury to St. Dunstan, where he afterwards became the first abbot.]¹

944 [A]. Here king Edmund subdued the whole land of the Northumbrians into his power; and expelled two kings, Anlaf son of Sihtric and Ragnold son of Guthferth.

944 [E]. Here king Edmund subdued all the Northumbrians; and expelled two men of royal birth, Anlaf and Ragnold.

945 [A]. Here king Edmund harried the whole land of the Cumbrians and granted it all to Malcolm king of Scots on the condition that he should be his fellow-worker both on sea and on land.

946 [A]. Here king Edmund died on St. Augustin's mass-day (May 26th); and he had the kingdom six and a half years. [It was widely known how he ended his days—that Liofa stabbed him at Puckle-church. And Æthelflæd of Damerham, daughter of aldorman Ælfgar, was then his queen. And after him]² then Eadred atheling, his brother, succeeded to the king-

¹ An interpolation in MS. A by a fairly early hand. The same sentence is also inserted on top margin of F.

² MS. D. Ælfgyfu was Edmund's first wife; see 955 D.

dom and subdued the whole land of the Northumbrians into his power; and the Scots gave him oaths that they would all what he would.

947 [D]. Here king Eadred came to Tanshelf; and there Wulfstan the archbishop and all the witan of the Northumbrians plighted their troth to the king and within a little time belied it all, both pledge and also oaths.

948 [D].¹ Here king Eadred harried the whole land of the Northumbrians, because they had taken Eric for their king; and then, during the pillage, the great minster at Ripon was burnt, which St. Wilfrid built. And when the king was on his way homewards, the host within York overtook him; the king's fyrd was behind at Chesterford, and there they made great slaughter. Then was the king so wrathful that he would lead his forces back again and utterly destroy the land. When the witan of the Northumbrians understood that, they forsook Eric and made compensation for the deed to king Eadred.

949 [E]. Here Anlaf Cuaran came to the land of the Northumbrians.

951 [A]. Here died Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester, on St. Gregory's mass-day (Mar. 12th).

952 [D]. Here in this year king Eadred bade archbishop Wulfstan to be brought into the fortress of Iudanburh, because he had been often accused to the king; and in this year also the king bade great slaughter be made in the town of Thetford, in revenge of the abbot Eadhelm, whom they had before slain. [Here the Northumbrians drove out king Anlaf, and received Eric, Harold's son.]²

954 [D]. Here the Northumbrians drove out Eric; and Eadred succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians. Here archbishop Wulfstan again received a bishopric in Dorchester.

¹ Under 948 MS. E:—Here king Edmund was stabbed; and Eadred, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom. And forthwith he subdued . . . (as in 946 A).

² MS. E.

955 [A]. Here died king Eadred on St. Clement's mass-day (Nov. 23rd) at Frome; and he reigned nine and a half years. And then Eadwig, son of king Edmund, succeeded to the kingdom.¹

955 [D]. Here died king Eadred; and he rests in the Old Minster [at Winchester].² And Eadwig succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and Edgar his brother succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians; and they were the sons of king Edmund and St. Ælfgyfu.

956 [C]. Here died king Eadred; and Eadwig succeeded to the kingdom.

957 [D]. Here died archbishop Wulfstan³ on xvii kl. Januar. (Dec. 16th); and he was buried at Oundle. And in the same year abbot Dunstan was driven away over sea. [Here Edgar atheling succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians.]⁴

958 [A]. Here died king Eadwig⁵ on kl. Octobr. (Oct. 1st); and Edgar his brother succeeded to the kingdom.⁶

958 [D]. Here in this year archbishop Odo divorced king Eadwig and Ælfgyfu, because they were too near akin.

959 [E].⁷ Here king Eadwig died; and Edgar his brother succeeded to the kingdom.

In his days was great prosperity;
and God him granted that he dwelt in peace

¹ 956. And banished St. Dunstan out of the land—an interpolation in MS. A by an early hand. F has the same entry in 955, but adds as a footnote—956. Here was abbot Dunstan driven out of England by king Eadwig.

² MS. F.

³ MS. E places the deaths of Eadred and Wulfstan in 955 and 956 respectively.

⁴ MSS. B and C.

⁵ And Edgar was king after him over all Britain.—F.

⁶ In Wessex and in Mercia and in Northumbria; and he was then sixteen winters old—adds MSS. B and C which, however, place the whole annal in 959.

⁷ In MS. A under this year is interpolated by an early hand: Here he (*i.e.*, king Edgar) sent after St. Dunstan and gave him the bishopric in Worcester, and thereafter the bishopric in London. MS. F has the same annal.

- the while that he lived;
 and he did as behoved him, diligently earned it.
- 5 Widely he exalted the glory of God;
 and God's law loved and the folk's peace improved
 —most of the kings who were before him
 in memory of men.
- And God him too aided that kings and earls
 10 gladly to him bowed;
 and were subject to whate'er he would;
 and without contest he governed all
 which himself would.
- He was widely 'mongst all nations
 15 greatly honoured,
 because he honoured zealously God's name,
 and God's law pondered oft and again,
 and God's glory exalted far and wide,
 and wisely counselled, most oft and ever,
- 20 all his people 'fore God and 'fore the world.
 One misdeed he did, all too much
 that he foreign manners loved
 and brought too fast within this land
 heathen customs.
- 25 And outlandish men hither enticed
 and harmful people allured to this land.
 But God him grant that his good deeds
 be of more avail than all misdeeds,
 for his soul's shielding on the long journey.
- [961 [A]. Here departed archbishop Odo; and St. Dunstan succeeded to the archbishopric.]¹
- 962 [A]. Here died Ælfgar, the king's kinsman, in Devonshire; and his body rests in Wilton. And king Sigferth killed himself; and his body lies at Wimborne. And then, within the year, there was a very great plague; and the destructive fire was in London; and Paul's minster was burnt, and the same year was rebuilt.

In the same year Æthelmod mass-priest fared to

¹ An interpolation by an early hand. MS. F has—Here died archbishop Odo the good; and Dunstan was chosen for archbishop.

Rome and there died on xviii kl. Septemb. (Aug. 15th).

963 [A]. Here died Wulfstan deacon on Childermas day (Dec. 28th); and after that died Gyric mass-priest. In this same year abbot Æthelwold succeeded to the bishopric in Winchester, and he was consecrated on the vigil of St. Andrew (Nov. 29th); it was Sunday on that day.

964 [A]. Here king Edgar expelled the priests in Winchester from the Old Minster and from the New Minster and from Chertsey and from Milton, and filled them with monks; and he appointed abbot Æthelgar as abbot to the New Minster and Ordbert to Chertsey and Cyneweard to Milton. [Hic expulsi sunt canonici de ueteri monasterio.]¹

965 [D]. Here in this year king Edgar took Ælfthryth for his queen; she was the daughter of Ordgar aldorman.

966 [E]. Here Thored, son of Gunner, harried Westmoreland; and the same year Oslac obtained an aldormanship.

969 [E]. Here in this year king Edgar commanded all Thanet-land to be ravaged.

971 [B]. Here died archbishop Oskytel; he was first consecrated bishop at Dorchester; and afterwards at York by favour of king Eadred and of all his witan he was consecrated archbishop; and he was bishop twenty-two winters; and he died on the mass-night of All-Hallows (Nov. 1st), ten nights before Martinmas, at Thame. And abbot Thurkytel, his kinsman, carried the bishop's body to Bedford, because he was at the time abbot there.

972 [E]. Here Edgar atheling was consecrated king at Bath, on the mass-day of Pentecost, on v id. Mai (May 11th) in the thirteenth year since he had succeeded to the kingdom; and he was then one less than thirty years of age. And straightway after that the king led the whole of his ship-host to Chester; and

¹ MS. E. The text of F is here an evident conflation of A and E; no other MSS. have this entry.—Plummer.

there six kings came to meet him, and all plighted
their faith to him that they would be his fellow-workers
on sea and on land. [Here died Edmund atheling;
and his body lies at Romsey.]¹

- 973 [A]. Here was Edgar, ruler of the Angles,
hallowed king in full assembly
at the old town of Acemannesceaster,
which the islanders by another word
5 also name Bath. There was great bliss
fallen upon all on that happy day
which the sons of men name and call
Pentecost's day. There was a crowd of priests;
a large band of monks, as I have heard,
10 of learned men gathered. And then were gone by
ten hundred of winters, told in numbers,
from the birth-tide of the glorious king,
guardian of Light, save that yet remaining
were seven and twenty of the yearly-tale,
15 as writings say; so nigh a thousand years
of the Lord of Victory had passed when this befell.
And he himself had, Edmund's son,
bold in battle, nine and twenty
of winters in the world when this was done;
20 and then in his thirtieth year was hallowed sovereign.
- ~~975 [A]. Here ended Edgar, Angles' king,~~
the joys of earth; chose him another light
beauteous and winsome and forsook this frail,
this transitory life. The sons of men name
5 everywhere that month —dwellers on the earth
in this native land, those who erewhile
in the art of numbers were rightly taught—
July month when the young Edgar,
warriors' ring-giver, on the eighth day
10 departed from life. Whence his son succeeded
to the kingdom, a child un-waxen,
lord of earls, whose name was Edward.
And ten nights before him a glorious hero

¹ Erased in A; recovered from Wheloc's edition, which was based on the lost Cottonian MS. (Otho B. xi).

departed from Britain through nature's course,
 15 the good bishop whose name was Cyneward.
 Then was 'mongst the Mercians, as I have heard,
 widely and everywhere the glory of the Lord
 laid low on earth; many were expelled
 of God's learned servants. That was great grief
 20 to him who in his breast bore a burning love
 of the Creator, in his mind. Then the Doer of wonders
 too greatly was despised, Lord of Victory,
 Ruler of the Heavens; then men broke His laws.
 And then too was driven the warrior bold of mood
 25 Oslac from the land over the rolling waves,
 o'er the bath of the gannet, o'er the tumult of the
 waters,
 over the whale's domain, the hoary-haired hero
 wise and eloquent, of home bereft.
 And then appeared aloft in the heavens
 30 a star in the firmament which high-souled
 and mind-wise men —learned in science,
 wise soothsayers— widely call
 by name a comet; throughout the nation
 was the Lord's vengeance widely known,
 35 a famine o'er the land; that again the Heaven's
 Guardian,
 Lord of Angels amended, gave bliss again
 to every isle-dweller through the earth's increase.
 ✓ 975 [E].¹ Here Edgar died,
 ruler of the Angles,
 the West-Saxons' friend
 and the Mercians' protector.
 Known was it widely
 throughout many nations
 that far and wide
 o'er the gannet's bath
 kings honoured him,
 the son of Edmund,

¹ B and C have the longer poem as in A; D (like E) has the shorter poem. After the number of the year D adds, viii Id. Julii (i.e., July 8th), the date of Edgar's death. F is content with the simple prose entry—Here king Edgar died.

bowed to him as king
 as was but fitting.
 Was no fleet so proud,
 no host so strong
 that 'mongst the English race
 took booty from him
 the while that the noble king
 ruled his throne.

And here Edward, Edgar's son, succeeded to the
 kingdom; and then forthwith, in the autumn of the
 same year, appeared the star [called] a comet; and
 then came in the following year a very great famine and
 very manifold disturbances amongst the English race.
 And aldorman Ælfhere commanded to be demolished the
 very many monasteries which king Edgar commanded
 the holy bishop Æthelwold to establish. And at the
 time was Oslac the famous earl expelled from the
 English nation.

975 [D]. . . . In his days,
 because of his youth,
 God's foes
 —Ælfhere aldorman
 and many others—
 God's laws broke
 and monastic rule hindered
 and monasteries scattered
 and monks expelled
 and God's servants persecuted
 whom king Edgar ordered
 the holy bishop Æthelwold
 erewhile to establish;
 and widows they despoiled
 oft and frequently;
 and many of wrongs
 and evil lawless deeds
 afterwards arose;
 and ever thenceforward
 things grew greatly worse.]

976 [c]. Here in this year was the great famine amongst
 the English nation.

977 [c]. Here after Easter was the great council at Kirtlington; and there died bishop Sideman, by a sudden death, on ii kl. May (April 30th). He was bishop in Devonshire, and he desired that his body's resting-place should be at Crediton at his episcopal seat. Then bade king Edward and archbishop Dunstan that he should be borne to St. Mary's monastery which is at Abingdon; and so it was done; and he is also worthily buried on the north side in St. Paul's chapel.¹

✓ 978 [E]. Here in this year all the chief witan of the English nation fell at Calne from an upper chamber, save only the holy archbishop Dunstan who stood up on a beam; and some there were sorely hurt, and others did not escape it with life. [Here in this year was king Edward martyred; and Æthelred atheling, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom, and he was in the same year consecrated king. In that year died Ælfwold, who was bishop amongst the Dorset-men; and his body lies in the monastery at Sherborne].²

978 [A]. Here was king Edward slain. In the same year Æthelred atheling, his brother, succeeded to the kingdom.

979 [E]. Here was king Edward slain at even-tide at Corfesgeat, on xv kl. April (Mar. 18th), and buried at Wareham, without any kingly honours.

No worse deed was done amidst the English race
than this was

Since they first sought Britain-land.

Men murdered him,
but God honoured him.

He was in life an earthly king;
he is now after death a heavenly saint.

Him would not avenge
his earthly kinsmen;
but him has his heavenly father
greatly avenged.

The earthly murderers would blot out

¹ Here ends MS. B.

² MS. C.

his memory on earth;
but the lofty Avenger has his memory
in the heavens and on the earth spread abroad.

They, who erewhile
to his living body would not bow down,
humbly now
on knees bend to his dead bones.

Now we may understand
that men's wisdom
and devices
and their counsels
are like nought
against God's purpose.

And here Æthelred succeeded to the kingdom; and
very quickly after that, with great joy of the witan
of the English race, he was consecrated king at
Kingston.

979 [c]. In this year was Æthelred consecrated king at
Kingston on the Sunday, fourteen days after Easter
(Mar. 28th); and at his consecration were two arch-
bishops and ten suffragan bishops. The same year was
seen a bloody cloud, often-times, in likeness of fire;
and it was mostly apparent at midnight and was
coloured in various rays. Then when the day began
to break, it glided away. [Eodem anno Æthelredus
successit fratri suo in regno. Tempore suo multa mala
uenerunt in Angliam et postea semper huc usque
euerunt.]¹

980 [c]. Here in this year abbot Æthelgar was con-
secrated bishop on vi Non. May (May 2nd) to the
episcopal seat at Selsey. And in the same year South-
ampton was harried by a ship-host, and the most part
of the townsmen slain and led captive. And the same
year Thanet-land was harried. And the same year
Cheshire was harried by a Northern ship-host. [Here
in this year aldorman Ælfhere² fetched the body of the
holy king (Edward)³ from Wareham and carried it
with great honour to Shaftesbury.]⁴

¹ MS. F.

² Ælferus dux cum beato Dunstano.—F.

³ Add. F.

⁴ MS. E.

981 [c]. Here in this year Bodmin was harried; and the same year was much harm done everywhere by the sea-coast, both among the men of Devonshire and among the Welsh. And in the same year died Ælfstan bishop in Wiltshire, and his body lies in the monastery at Abingdon; and Wulfgar then succeeded to the bishopric. And in the same year died Womær, abbot in Ghent.

981 [E]. Here came first the seven ships and harried Southampton.

982 [c]. Here in this year landed among the Dorset-men three ships of vikings and harried in Portland. The same year London was burnt; and in the same year died two aldormen, Æthelmær in Hampshire and Edwin amongst the South-Saxons. And Æthelmær's body lies at Winchester in the New Minster, and Edwin's in the monastery at Abingdon. The same year died two abbesses among the Dorset-men, Herelufu at Shaftesbury and Wulfwyn at Wareham. And the same year Otto, emperor of the Romans, fared to Greek-land; and there he found a great host of Saracens landing from the sea, and they would then go harrying the christian folk. And then the Emperor fought against them, and great slaughter was made on either hand; and the emperor had possession of the place of slaughter; and nevertheless he was greatly wearied before he departed thence. And as he fared homeward, died his brother's son, who was named Otto, and he was son of Leodulf atheling; and this Leodulf was son of the elder Otto and daughter's son of king Edward.

983 [c]. Here died aldorman Ælfhere, and Ælfric succeeded to the aldorman-ship. And Pope Benedict died.

984 [A]. Here died the benevolent bishop [of Winchester],¹ Æthelwold [father of monks];² and the consecration of the succeeding bishop, Ælfheah, who

¹ MS. F.

² MS. E. An addition by C gives the date of Æthelwold's death as kl. August (August 1st).

by another name was called Godwin, was xiv kl. November (Oct. 19th); and he took possession of the episcopal chair at Winchester on the day of the two apostles Simon and Jude. [And here was Edwin consecrated abbot at Abingdon.]¹

985 [c]. Here was aldorman Ælfric banished from the land. And in the same year Edwin was consecrated abbot of the monastery at Abingdon.

986 [c]. Here the king laid waste the bishopric at Rochester. Here first came the great murrain among cattle in the English nation.

987 [E]. Here Watchet was harried.

988 [c]. Here Watchet was harried, and Goda the thegn of the Devon-men slain, and with him much slaughter made. Here died archbishop Dunstan;² and bishop Æthelgar³ succeeded after him to the archbishopric; and but a little while after that did he live, one year and three⁴ months.

989 [E]. Here abbot Edwin died and Wulfgar succeeded him. And here Siric was consecrated archbishop; [and afterwards fared to Rome for his pall].⁵

990 [c]. Here Siric was consecrated archbishop. And abbot Edwin died; and abbot Wulfgar succeeded to the abbacy.

991 [E]. Here Ipswich was harried; and very shortly after that aldorman Brihtnoth was slain at Maldon. And in that year it was decreed that tribute, for the first time, should be given to the Danish-men on account of the great fear which they wrought by the sea-coast; that was, first, ten thousand pounds. Archbishop Siric first gave that counsel.

992 [E]. Here the holy archbishop Oswald forsook this life and passed to the heavenly life; and aldorman

¹ MS. E.

² E's version is:—And here the holy archbishop Dunstan forsook this life, and passed to the heavenly life. In MS. A, against the year 988, is written in an ancient and very small hand:—hoc anno obiit St. Dunstanus areps.

³ (Abbot in the New Minster.)—F.

⁴ viii—F, altered from iii.

⁵ MS. F.

Maldon

Æthelwin died in the same year. Then decreed the king and all his witan that the ships, which were of worth, should be gathered at London. And the king then committed the leading of this fyrd to aldorman Ælfric and earl Thorod and bishop Ælfstan and bishop Æscwig; and they were to try whether they might anywhere entrap the host out at sea. Then sent the aldorman Ælfric and bade the host take warning; and then in the night, when they should have joined battle in the daytime, he himself fled by night from the fyrd to his great disgrace; and the host escaped, save one ship whose crew was there slain. And then the host met the ships from East-Anglia and from London; and they made a great slaughter there and took the ship, all armed and equipped, in which the aldorman was. And then after the death of the archbishop Oswald, abbot Ealdulf from Peterborough succeeded to the bishopric of York and of Worcester; and Kenulf to the abbacy at Peterborough.

992 [F]. Here the holy archbishop Oswald died and abbot Eadulf succeeded to York and to Worcester. And here the king and all his witan decreed that all the ships which were of worth should be gathered at London in order that they might try whether they might anywhere entrap the host out at sea. But aldorman Ælfric, one of those in whom the king had most trust, bade the host take warning; and in the night, when they should have joined battle on the morrow, the selfsame Ælfric fled from the fyrd; and the host then escaped.

993 [E]. In this year Bamborough was stormed, and much war-booty taken there. And after that the host came to the mouth of the Humber, and there wrought much evil both in Lindsey and in Northumbria. Then a very large fyrd was gathered; and when they should have joined battle, then the leaders first took to flight; they were Fræna and Godwin and Frithegist. In this same year the king ordered Ælfgar, son of aldorman Ælfric, to be blinded.

993 [A]. Here in this year came Anlaf with ninety-three

ships to Staines and harried outside there and fared thence to Sandwich and so thence to Ipswich and overran all of it, and so to Maldon. And against him there aldorman Brihtnoth came with his fyrd and fought against him; and there they slew the aldorman and had possession of the place of slaughter. And after that peace was made with him; and the king afterwards received him at the bishop's hands [through the instruction of Siric bishop of the Kentishmen and Ælfheah bishop of Winchester].¹

994 [E]. Here in this year came Anlaf and Swegen to London, on the nativity of St. Mary (Sept. 8th), with ninety-four ships; and they were fighting constantly against the town and tried also to set fire to it. But there they sustained more harm and evil than ever they imagined any townsmen could do unto them. For God's holy mother, on that day, showed her loving-kindness to the townsmen and delivered them from their foes. And they fared thence and wrought the most evil that ever any host might do in burning and harrying and in man-slaying both by the sea-coast among the East-Saxons and in Kent-land and among the South-Saxons and in Hampshire. And at last they took to themselves horses and rode as far as they would, and were doing unspeakable evil. Then the king and his witan decreed that they should be sent to, and promised tribute and provisions on condition that they would cease from their harrying; and that they accepted. And the whole host came to Southampton and there took up their winter-quarters; and there they were fed from all the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and they were paid sixteen thousand pounds.² Then the king sent bishop Ælfheah and aldorman Æthelward after king Anlaf; and hostages were delivered the while to the ships, and then they led Anlaf with great honour to the king at Andover. And the king Æthelred received him at the bishop's hands and royally gifted him. And then Anlaf promised him,

¹ A later addition to MS. A.

² Of money.—C, D.

as he also fulfilled, that never again would he come with strife to the English race. *Hic Ricardus uetus obiit; et Ricardus filius eius suscepit regnum, et regnavit xxxi an.*

994 [F]. Here came Anlaf and Swegen to London with ninety-four ships, and constantly fought against the town. And they also tried to set fire to it. But there, thanks be to God, they received worse [treatment] than they ever supposed [possible]; and they fared thence and wrought the most evil that ever any host might in all things, wheresoever they fared. Then the king and his witan decreed that tribute should be promised them; and so it was done; and that they accepted. And also food was given them from all the kingdom of the West-Saxons; and they were paid sixteen thousand pounds. Then the king sent bishop Ælfheah and aldorman Æthelward; and hostages were delivered the while to the ships, and king Anlaf was led with great honour to Andover. And the king Æthelred received him at the bishop's hands and royally gifted him. And Anlaf promised him and so fulfilled, that never again would he come with strife to the English race.

995 [F]. In this year appeared the star (called) the Comet, that is, the hairy one; and archbishop Siric died. And Ælfric, bishop of Wiltshire, was chosen on Easter-day (April 21st) at Amesbury by king Æthelred and by all his witan. This Ælfric was a very wise man, so that there was no sager man in England. Then Ælfric fared to his archiepiscopal seat; and when he came thither, he was received by those men in orders who of all men were most distasteful to him *i.e.* by clerks. And straightway [he sent for] all the wisest men he anywhere knew of, and also those excellent men who could say the truest how everything had been in this land in the days of their elders; besides what he himself had learned from books and from wise men. Him told the very old men, both clergy and laity, that their elders had told them how it had been established by law soon after St. Augustin came to this land.

When Augustin had obtained the bishopric in the town, which was the head-town of the whole realm of king Æthelbert, as is related in *Historia Anglorum*, [there he found a certain church begun by the ancient Romans, which by the aid of the king he determined to complete. When that was accomplished, king Æthelbert decided to inquire of Augustin and the rest of his advisers what order of monks or of clerks he could more fitly establish in the church for the purpose of serving God. And all gave counsel that the king, for his own part, should send his messengers to Rome, to the Pope Gregory, and Augustin his monks together with the king's messengers; and even as by his counsel Augustin had some years before come into England, by the same advice should the church, already named, be consecrated and set in order. And so it was done. For his messengers being provided for the journey, the king sent them to Rome; and no less did Augustin with his monks. And when they had come to the Pope and had announced that the Angles had received the faith of Christ, greatly did he rejoice. And having in this way heard all the things which had been committed to Augustin by the king, he straightway sent back the messengers; and with them he sent to Augustin, in order that they might be of help to him in the work of strengthening the faith of Christ, these men]—Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, Rufianus. By these the holy pope sent the pall and therewith a letter and instruction how he should consecrate bishops and in which place in Britain he should seat them. And to the king Æthelbert he sent letters and many secular gifts of various things. And the churches which they had got ready, he bade be consecrated in the name of the Lord Saviour Christ and St. Mary; and that he should fix there a dwelling-place for himself and for all his successors; and that he should place therein men of the same order that he had sent thither and of which he himself was; and also that every succeeding bishop should be a man of the monastic order even as he who established the

archiepiscopal seat in Canterbury; and that this should be ever observed by the leave and blessing of God and St. Peter and of all who come after him. When this mission came back to king Æthelbert and to Augustin they were very pleased with such instruction. And then the archbishop consecrated the church in the name of Christ and St. Mary on the day which is called the mass-day of the two martyrs, Primus and Felicianus, and therein placed monks, all as St. Gregory commanded; and purely they performed God's service, and from the same monks bishops were appointed to every seat, as thou mayst read in *Historia Anglorum*. Then was archbishop Ælfric very blithe, that he had so many witnesses [who at that time were high in the counsel of the king]. Besides, the same wise men, who were with the archbishop, said, "Thus even as we have told, monks dwelt continuously in Christ-Church in the days of Augustin, of Laurentius, Mellitus, Justus, Honorius, Deusdedit, Theodore, Brihtwold, Tatwin, Nothelm, Cuthbert, Bregwin, Ianbert, Æthelheard, Wulfred, Felogild. But the [first] year when Ceolnoth came to the archbishopric, there was such a mortality that there remained none save five monks within Christ-Church. In his time too there was war and sorrow in this land, so that no man could think of anything else save . . . Now, thanks be to God, it is in the king's power and thine, whether they may be longer there; because they [might] never better be driven out than now may be done, if it is the king's will and thine." The archbishop then, without any staying, with all the wise men fared straightway to the king and made known to him all, so as we here before have related. Then was the king very glad at these tidings and said to the archbishop and to the others, "It seems advisable to me that thou shouldst fare first of all to Rome after thy [pall, and that] thou make known to the pope all this, and, afterwards act by his counsel." And they all answered, that that was the best counsel. When [the priests] heard this, then resolved they that they

should take two from among themselves and send to the pope; and they should offer him great gifts and silver, on condition that he should give them the pall. But when they came to Rome, then would not the pope do that, because they brought him no letter either from the king or from the folk, and bade them fare whereever they would. [So soon as] the priests had gone thence, came archbishop Ælfric to Rome, and the pope received him with much honour and commanded him on the morrow to perform mass at St. Peter's altar, and the pope himself put on him his own pall and greatly honoured him. When this was done, the archbishop began telling the pope all about the clerks, how it had fared and how they were within the church at his archbishopric. And the pope related to him again how the priests had come to him and offered great gifts, in order that he should give them the pall. And the pope said, "Go now to England again with God's blessing and St. Peter's and mine; and as thou comest home, place in thy church men of that order which St. Gregorius commanded Augustin therein to place, by God's command, and St. Peter's and mine." Then the archbishop with this returned to England. As soon as he came home, he occupied his archiepiscopal seat and after that fared to the [king]; and the king and all his people thanked God for his return, and that he had so performed his errand as was pleasing to them all. He then returned again to Canterbury and drove the clerks out of the church, and placed monks therein—all as the pope commanded him.

996 [F]. Here was Wulfstan consecrated bishop in London. [Here in this year was Ælfric consecrated archbishop to Christ-Church.]¹

997 [E]. Here in this year the host fared around Devonshire into the mouth of the Severn and harried there, both among the Cornish-men and among the North-Welsh and among the Devon-men, and then landed

¹ MS. E.

at Watchet and there wrought much evil by burning and by man-slaying. And after that they returned around the Land's End on to the south side and went then into the mouth of the Tamar and then went inland until they came to Lydford and burned and destroyed everything which they found; and they burned Ordulf's monastery at Tavistock and took indescribable [amount of] booty with them to their ships. [Here archbishop Ælfric fared to Rome after his pall.]¹

998 [Æ]. Here the host turned eastward again into the mouth of the Frome and went everywhere there as far inland as they would into Dorset. And the fyrd was often gathered against them; but, as soon as they should have joined battle, then was there ever, for some cause, flight determined on; and in the end they ever had the victory. And another time they lay in the Isle of Wight and provisioned themselves the while from Hampshire and from Sussex.

999 [Æ]. Here the host came again about into the Thames and went up along the Medway to Rochester. And then the Kentish fyrd came against them, and stoutly was the battle joined; but alas! that they too quickly gave way and fled—because they had not the support which they should have had. And the Danish had possession of the place of slaughter. And then they took horses and rode wheresoever themselves would, and ruined and harried well nigh all the West-Kentish-men. Then the king with his witan resolved that they should be attacked with a ship-fyrd and also with a land-fyrd. But when the ships were ready, then they delayed from day to day and distressed the poor folk who lay in the ships; and ever as it should have been forwarder, so was it later from one time to another; and ever they let their enemies' forces increase, and ever they retired from the sea, and they always fared forth too late. And then at the end the naval expedition availed nothing save the

¹ MS. F.

folk's distress and a waste of money and the emboldening of their foes.

1000 [E]. Here in this year the king fared into Cumberland and harried it well-nigh all. And his ships went out around Chester and should have come to meet him, but they were not able to do so; then they harried the Isle of Man. And the hostile fleet was this summer gone to Richard's realm.

1001 [A]. Here ~~in this year~~ was much strife in the land of the English through the ship-host, and well-nigh everywhere they harried and burned, so that at a certain time they went forward until they came to the town of Alton; and then there came against them [the men of] Hampshire, and fought against them. And there was slain Æthelward king's high-reeve and Leofric at Whitchurch and Leofwin king's high-reeve and Wulfhere bishop's thegn and Godwin bishop Ælfsige's son at Worthy, and of all men one and eighty; and there were of the Danish-men many more slain, though they had possession of the place of slaughter.

And they fared thence west until they came to Devon; and Pallig came there to meet them with the ships which he could gather, because he had fled from king Æthelred contrary to all the plighted troth that he had given him; and the king had also well gifted him with homesteads and with gold and silver. And they burnt Teignton and also many other goodly homesteads which we are unable to name; and afterwards peace was made there with them. And they fared thence to the mouth of the Exe, so that they went forward at a certain time until they came to Pinhoe; and there Cola, the king's high-reeve, and Eadsige, the king's reeve, went against them with the fyrd which they were able to gather together; and they were put to flight, and many there were slain; and the Danish had possession of the place of slaughter. And on the morning after, they burned the homesteads at Pinhoe and at Clyst, and also many goodly homesteads which we are unable to name, and then

fared again east until they came to the Isle of Wight; and on the morning after, they burned the homestead at Waltham and many other villages; and very soon afterwards a treaty was arranged with them, and they made peace.

1001 [E]. Here came the host to the mouth of the Exe, and they went up to the town and were constantly fighting there; but they were very constantly and strenuously resisted. Then they wended through the land and did all as was their wont—destroyed and burnt. Then was collected a great fyrd of the folk of Devon and Somerset; and they came together at Pinhoe. And as soon as battle was joined, the English fyrd gave way; and there they made a great slaughter and then rode over the land, and ever was their last incursion worse than the preceding one. And they brought much booty with them to the ships and went thence into the Isle of Wight. And there they fared about even as they themselves would, and nothing withstood them. Nor dared any ship-host meet them at sea; nor any land-fyrd, went they ever so far inland. Then was it in every wise a heavy time, because they never ceased from their evil-doing.

1002 [E]. Here in this year the king decreed, and his witan, that tribute should be paid to the fleet, and peace made with them on condition that they should cease from their evil-doing. Then the king sent to the fleet aldorman Leofsig; and he then settled a truce with them by the word of the king and of his witan, and that they should receive supplies and tribute. And that they accepted; and then were they paid twenty-four thousand pounds. Then in the meanwhile aldorman Leofsig slew Æfic, the king's high-reeve; and the king banished him from the country. And then in the same spring came the lady, [Emma Ælfifu]¹ Richard's daughter, hither to land; and in the same summer died archbishop Ealdulf. And in that year the king ordered all the Danish-men, who

¹ Additions by MS. F.

were in England, to be slain on St. Brice's mass-day, because it was made known to the king that they would beguile him of his life and afterwards all his witan, and after that have his kingdom [without any gainsaying].¹

1003 [E]. Here Exeter was taken by storm through the French churl, Hugon, whom the lady had appointed her reeve; and the host utterly ruined the town and took there much booty. [And in the same year the host advanced into Wiltshire.]² Then was gathered a very large fyrd from Wiltshire and from Hampshire, and very resolutely they made towards the host. Then should the aldorman Ælfric have led the fyrd, but he had recourse to his old wiles; as soon as they were so near that either [army] could gaze on the other, then he feigned himself sick and began by retching to spew and said that he was taken ill, and thus deceived the folk whom he should have led. As it is said: WHEN THE LEADER GROWS FAINT-HEARTED, THEN IS ALL THE HOST GREATLY HINDERED. When Swegen saw that they were not unanimous and that they were all dispersed, then led he his host into Wilton; and they despoiled the town and burned it; and then he went to Salisbury, and thence he fared to the sea again where he knew his sea-horses were.

1003 [F.] Here Exeter was taken by storm through the fault of a certain French churl named Hugo, whom the lady had appointed reeve. And the host utterly ruined the town. Then was gathered a very large fyrd; and then should aldorman Ælfric have led the fyrd, but he had recourse to his old wiles. As soon as they were so near that either [army] could gaze on the other, then he retched himself in spewing and said that he was sick; and so deceived the folk. When Swegen saw that they were not unanimous, then led he his host into Wilton and burned the town and then went to Salisbury and thence to the sea again.

1004 [E]. Here came Swegen with his fleet to Norwich

¹ Additions by MS. F.

² MSS. C and D.

and wholly despoiled the town; and they burnt it. Then decreed Ulfkytel, with the witan in East-Anglia, that it were better that they should purchase peace of the host before they did over-much harm in the land; because they had come unawares, and he had not time to gather his fyrd. Then under the truce, which should have been between them, the host stole inland from their ships and wended their way to Thetford. When Ulfkytel perceived that, then he sent to have the ships hewn to pieces, but those whom he destined for the work failed him; and then he gathered his fyrd secretly as he best might. And the host came to Thetford within three weeks of their having despoiled Norwich, and were one night within there and despoiled and burnt the town. Then on the morrow, as they would go to their ships, came Ulfkytel with his troops.¹ And there they stoutly joined battle, and much slaughter was made on either hand. There were the chief men² of the folk of the East-Angles slain; but if the full force had been there, never again would they have gone to their ships, as they themselves said.³

1004 [E]. Here came Swegen with his fleet to Norwich and wholly despoiled the town and burnt it. Then decreed Ulfkytel, with the witan in East-Anglia, that peace should be made with the host, because they had come unawares; nor had he time to gather his fyrd. But under the truce the host stole inland from the ships and fared to Hertford; and Ulfkytel gathered his host and fared after them. And there they stoutly joined battle; there were the chief men⁴ of the folk of the East-Angles slain.

1005 [E]. Here in this year was the great famine throughout the English nation; such that no man

¹ C inserts: in order that they might join battle with them.

² D has "the chieftain."

³ C and D add:—that they never met with a worse hand-play among the English nation than Ulfkytel had brought to them.

⁴ Optimi (qq') seniorum (principium) Orientalium Saxonum.—F Lat.

ever before remembered one so grim. And the fleet in this year went from this land to Denmark, and let but a little time pass before it returned.¹ [Here archbishop Ælfric died.]²

1006 [E]. Here died archbishop Ælfric, and after him bishop Ælfheah succeeded to the archbishopric; and bishop Brihtwold succeeded to the bishopric in Wiltshire. And [in the same year]³ Wulfgeat was deprived of all his property, and Wulfheah and Ufegreat were blinded, and aldorman Ælfhelm was slain; and bishop Kenulf died. And then, after midsummer, came the Danish fleet to Sandwich and did all as before had been their wont—harried and burnt and destroyed even as they fared. Then the king bade call out the whole people from Wessex and Mercia; and then they lay out all the autumn in readiness against the host. But it availed naught more than it oft had done before; but for all this the host fared as itself would, and the expedition did every harm to the country people; so that neither profited them—nor the defending host, nor the attacking host.

When winter approached, the fyrd fared home; and then the host came, after St. Martin's mass (Nov. 11th), to their safe quarters in the Isle of Wight and procured there from all parts what they needed. And then at midwinter they went throughout Hampshire into Berkshire to quarters, ever ready for them, at Reading; and they did their old wont, kindling their war-beacons as they fared. Then they fared to Wallingford and burnt the whole of it [and were one day at Cholsey],³ and went then along Ashdown to Skutchamfly and waited there out of bravado; for oft it is being said that, if they reached Skutchamfly, they should never again get to the sea. Then they wended homewards another way. Then was a fyrd assembled at Cynete, and battle was joined; and they soon brought those troops to flight and afterwards

¹ MS. F has the same annal save for the last sentence, which is simplified to "and soon turned back again."

² MS. A.

³ MSS. C, D.

carried their booty to the sea.¹ There might the people of Winchester see an insolent and daring host, as they went by their gates towards the sea and fetched themselves food and treasure over fifty miles from the sea.

At that time the king was gone over Thames into Shropshire and there took up his quarters during the midwinter's tide. Then became the dread of the host so great that no man could think² or devise how they could be driven out of the land, or this land held against them; for every shire in Wessex they had sadly marked by burning and by harrying. The king began earnestly to consider, with his witan, what seemed most advisable to them all, so that this land might be saved before it was utterly ruined. Then the king and his witan decreed, for the behoof of the whole people, though it was hateful to them all, that they needs must pay tribute to the host. Then the king sent to the host and bade it be made known to them that he would that a truce should be between them and that tribute and food should be given them. And all that they accepted; and then were they provisioned from throughout the English nation.

1006 [A]. Here Ælfheah was consecrated archbishop.

1007 [E]. Here in this year was the tribute delivered to the hostile host; that was thirty³ thousand pounds. And in this year also Ædric was appointed aldorman in the realm of the Mercians. [Here bishop Ælfheah fared to Rome for his pall.]⁴

1008 [E]. Here the king commanded that ships should be strenuously built over all England; that is, from three hundred hides and from ten hides one longship, and from eight hides a helm and byrny.

1009 [E]. Here in this year the ships, about which we

¹ And they there brought the English folk to flight and so afterwards fared to the sea.—D.

² MS. F has: At the same Christmas was the king at Shrewsbury and there took up his quarters. Then became the dread of the host so great, beyond all measure, that no man could say to another . . .

³ Thirty-six, according to C, D.

⁴ MS. D.

spoke before, were ready; and there were so many of them as never before, from what books tell us, had been in England in any king's day. And they were all brought together to Sandwich,¹ and there they were to lie and defend this land against every attacking host. But still we had not the good fortune nor the honour that the ship-fyrd should be of avail to this land, no more than oft it had been before. It befell at this same time, or a little before, that Brihtric, brother of aldorman Eadric, accused to the king Wulfnoth child the South-Saxon.² And he then went out and enticed ships to him until he had twenty; and then he harried everywhere by the south coast and wrought every kind of evil. Then it was made known to the ship-fyrd that they might easily overtake them, if they would set about it. Then Brihtric took to him eighty ships and thought that he would acquire great fame if he could get possession of Wulfnoth, alive or dead.³ But as they were on their way thither, came such a wind against them as no man before remembered; and it utterly dashed and beat to pieces the ships and threw them on land; and straightway came Wulfnoth and burnt the ships. When this was known to the other ships where the king was,⁴ then was it as if all counsel were at an end; and the king fared home and the aldormen and the chief councillors, and thus lightly forsook the ships. And then the folk, who were in the ships, brought them to London; and they let the whole people's toil thus lightly perish; and no better was the victory⁵ on which the whole English nation had fixed their hopes. When this ship-fyrd had thus

¹ Should protect this land against every attacking host, but it was all for nought even as oft it happened before.—F.

² F has—father of earl Godwin, quendam nobilem uirum nomine Ulnothum . . .

³ Then would Brihtric win for himself war-renown and took eighty ships forth with him and thought that he would catch Wulfnoth, alive or dead.—F.

⁴ When the king heard this, who remained with the other ships, then he fared home and all the aldormen.—F.

⁵ This is the reading of MSS. C and D; E has—no better was

ended, then came soon after Lammas (Aug. 1st) the vast hostile host [which we called Thurkil's host]¹ to Sandwich; and they straightway wended their way to Canterbury and would speedily have subdued the town, if the citizens had not more speedily craved peace of them; and all the East-Kentish-men made peace with the host and gave them three thousand pounds. And then, soon after that, the host went about till they came to the Isle of Wight; and everywhere in Sussex and in Hampshire and also in Berkshire they harried and burnt as their wont was.² Then the king commanded the whole people to be called out, so that they should be resisted on every side; but lo! they nevertheless fared how they would. Then on one occasion the king intercepted them with the whole fyrd, as they would go to their ships; and all the folk were ready to attack them. But it was prevented by aldorman Eadric, as it ever was. Then, after St. Martin's mass (Nov. 11th), they fared once more into Kent and took up their winter-quarters on the Thames, and obtained their food from Essex and from the shires which were next thereto, on both sides of the Thames. And oft they fought against the city of London; but praise be to God that it yet stands sound; and ever there they fared ill. And then after midwinter they turned their course inland through the Chilterns, and so to Oxford and burnt the town; and they took it (*i.e.*, the booty) on both sides of the Thames towards their ships. Then were they warned that the fyrd was gathered at London against them; then they crossed over [the river] at Staines. And thus they fared the whole winter; and during spring they were in Kent and repaired their ships.

1010 [E]. Here in this year, after Easter, came the before-mentioned host to East-Anglia and landed at Ipswich and forthwith went to where they learnt

the fear, etc. In this case the following relative clause is dependent on the whole sentence.

¹ MS. C.

² C and D have the more interesting "as their wont is."

Ulfkytel was with his fyrd. This was on the day prima ascensio Domini (May 18th). And the East-Angles soon fled, but Cambridgeshire stood firmly against them. There was slain Æthelstan, the king's son-in-law,¹ and Oswy and his son, and Wulfric, Leofwin's son, and Eadwig, Æfic's brother, and many other good thegns and numberless of the folk. Thurkytel mare's-head first began the flight. And the Danes had possession of the place of slaughter and there were horsed; and afterwards held sway in East-Anglia and harried and burnt the land for three months; and they even went into the wild fens, and they slew men and cattle² and burnt throughout the fens. And Thetford they burnt and Cambridge. And after that they turned southward again to the Thames, and the men who were horsed rode towards the ships; and after that very speedily they turned westward into Oxfordshire and thence into Buckinghamshire and so along the Ouse until they came to Bedford, and so onwards to Tempsford; and burnt ever as they fared. Then went they again to their ships with their booty. And when they dispersed³ to their ships, then ought the fyrd to have gone out to oppose them if they should land; but the fyrd fared home. And when they were eastwards, then was the fyrd held westwards; and when they were southwards, then was our fyrd northwards. Then were all the witan summoned to the king, and they were to counsel how this land might be defended. But although something was then resolved, it did not stand even one month; at last there was no chief who would gather a fyrd, but each fled as he best might; nor at the last would even one shire assist another. ✓

Then before St. Andrew's mass (Nov. 30th) the host came to Northampton, and they straightway burnt the town and took thereabout as much as they themselves would, and thence went over the Thames into Wessex and so by Canning Fen; and they burnt

¹ Or brother-in-law.

² Slew all the live stock which they found.—F.

³ Fared.—C, D.

it all. When they had gone so far as they would, then came they at midwinter to their ships.

1011 [E]. Here in this year the king and his witan sent to the host and craved for peace and promised them tribute and food on condition that they would cease from their harrying.

They had then overrun i. East-Anglia, ii. Essex, iii. Middlesex, iv. Oxfordshire, v. Cambridgeshire, vi. Hertfordshire, vii. Buckinghamshire, viii. Bedfordshire and (ix.) half Huntingdonshire and x. [much in Northamptonshire];¹ and, to the south of the Thames, all Kent and Sussex and Hastings² and Surrey and Berkshire and Hampshire and much in Wiltshire.

(All these misfortunes befell us through ill-counsel, that tribute³ was not offered to them at the [right] time; but when they had done the most evil, then truce and peace were made with them. And nevertheless for all this truce and peace and tribute, they fared everywhere in troops and harried our wretched folk and captured and slew them. And in this year, between the Nativity of St. Mary (Sept. 8th) and St. Michael's mass (Sept. 29th), they besieged Canterbury and got into it through treachery, because Ælmær betrayed it, whose life the archbishop Ælfheah had before saved. And there they took the archbishop Ælfheah and Ælfward, the king's reeve, and abbess Leofwin⁴ and bishop Godwin. And they let abbot Ælmær go away. And they took therein all the ecclesiastics⁵ and men and women; it is not to be told to any man how many of the folk there were. And afterwards they were within the town as long as they would. And when they had thoroughly ransacked the town, they went to their ships and led the archbishop with them.

¹ MS. C, D.

² This refers to all the surrounding district, not to the town alone. Originally the name must have been that of a tribe, as the plural form denotes.

³ Nor battle, adds C.

⁴ Leofrun.—C, D.

⁵ Lit., all the men in orders.

Was then captive he who was erewhile
a chief of the English race and of Christendom.
There might then be misery seen
where oft before was seen bliss
in that hapless city whence to us came first
Christendom and bliss 'fore God and 'fore the world.
And they had the archbishop with them up to the time
when they martyred him.

1012 [E]. Here in this year came aldorman Eadric and all the chief witan, ecclesiastical and lay, of the English nation to London, before Easter; at that time was Easter-day on the date Idus April (April 13th); and there they were so long after Easter until the tribute was all paid;¹ that was eight thousand pounds.² Then on the Saturday was the host greatly excited against the bishop, because he would not promise them any money, but forbade that anything should be given for his ransom. They had also drunk deeply, for wine had been brought there from the south. Then they took the bishop, led him to their husting on the Sunday eve, the octaves of Easter [xiii kal. May (April 19th)]; and there they shamefully killed him;³ they pelted him with bones and heads of cattle, and then one of them struck him with an axe-iron on the head, so that he sank down beneath the blow; and his holy blood fell on the earth, and his holy soul he sent forth to God's kingdom. And the bishops Eadnoth and Ælfhun and the townsmen received the holy body on the morrow and carried it to London with all honour⁴ and buried it in St. Paul's church; and there God now reveals the miracles of the holy martyr. When the tribute was paid and oaths of peace were sworn, then the host dispersed

¹ And the witan was assembled for the purpose of paying the tribute to the Danish host.—F.

² So F. Eight and forty thousand.—C, D.

³ MS. C.

⁴ And on the morrow the body was carried to London, and the bishops Eadnoth and Ælfhun and the townsmen received it with all honour.—C, D.

far and wide in like manner as before it was assembled. Then five-and-forty ships of the host became subject to the king; and promised him that they would defend this land; and he was to feed and clothe them.

✓ 1013 [B]. In the year following that in which the archbishop was martyred, the king appointed bishop Living archbishop to Canterbury. And in this same year before the month of August came king Swegen with his fleet to Sandwich, and went then very speedily about East-Anglia into the mouth of the Humber and so inland along the Trent until he came to Gainsborough. And straightway earl Uhtred and all the Northumbrians submitted to him, and all the folk in Lindsey, and afterwards the folk from the Five Boroughs, and soon after the whole host north of Watling-street; and hostages were given to him from every shire. After he perceived that all the folk were submissive to him, he commanded that his host should be provisioned and horsed; and then afterwards he wended southward with the full fyrd and committed the ships and the hostages to Knut, his son. And after he came across Watling-street, they wrought the most evil that any host might do. Then went he to Oxford, and the townsmen straightway submitted and gave hostages¹; and thence to Winchester and did the like. Thence he wended eastward to London, and many of his folk were drowned in the Thames because they did not look for any bridge. When he came to the town, then would not the townsmen submit, but held out against him with full war because king Æthelred was therein and Thurkil with him. Thence king Swegen went to Wallingford and so over the Thames westward to Bath and sat there with his fyrd. And aldorman Athelmær came thither, and the western thegns with him, and they all submitted to Swegen and gave hostages.² And when he had thus

¹ And so to Winchester, and both the towns submitted and gave hostages; and so he fared eastward, etc.—F.

² And soon after the whole people received him fully and held

succeeded, then wended he northward to his ships; and the whole people had him for full king. And after that the townsmen in London submitted and gave hostages, because they feared that he would destroy them. Then Swegen ordered a full geld and provisions for his host during the winter; and Thurkil ordered the same for the host which lay at Greenwich; but for all that they harried as oft as they would. Then did nothing avail this people either from the south or from the north. Then was the king some while with the fleet which was in the Thames; and the lady then wended over sea to her brother Richard, and Ælfsige, abbot of Peterborough, with her. And the king sent bishop Ælfhun with the athelings, Edward and Alfred, over sea that he might take charge of them. Then the king went from the fleet at midwinter to the Isle of Wight and was there during that tide; and after that tide he went over sea to Richard and was there with him until the fortunate occasion when Swegen was dead.

And the while that the lady was with her brother beyond sea, Ælfsige abbot of Peterborough, who was there with her, fared to the monastery which is called Bonneval, where St. Florentinus' body lay. There he found a poor stead, a poor abbot and poor monks, for they had been harried. Then he bought there of the abbot and of the monks St. Florentinus' body, all save the head, for five hundred pounds; and then when he came home again, he offered it to Christ and St. Peter.

1014 [E]. Here in this year king Swegen ended his days at Candlemas iii Nones Febr. (Feb. 3rd). [And the same year Ælfwig was consecrated bishop of London

him as full king. And the townsmen in London submitted to him and gave hostages. And the king Æthelred sent his queen Ælfifu Emma over sea to her brother Richard; and Ælfsige, abbot of Peterborough, with her, and bishop Ælfhun with the athelings, Edward and Alfred, over sea that he should take charge of them. And the king himself soon fared after them; and was there all the time until Swegen was dead.—F.

✓ at York on St. Juliana's mass-day (Feb. 16th).]¹ And all the fleet chose² Knut for king. Then decreed all the witan [who were in England],³ ecclesiastical and lay, that they should send after king Æthelred; and they declared that no lord was dearer to them than their own natural lord, if he would rule them more according to law than he did before. Then sent the king his son Edward hither with his messengers and bade them greet all his people, and said that he would be to them a gracious lord and amend each of those things which they all hated, and each of those things should be forgiven which had been done or said to him on condition that they all unanimously without treachery turned back to him. And then they confirmed full friendship, with word and with pledge, on both sides, and declared every Danish king outlawed⁴ from England. Then in the spring king Æthelred came home to his own people; and he was gladly received by them all. And, after Swegen was dead, Knut sat with his host at Gainsborough until Easter; and it was agreed between him and the folk in Lindsey that they should horse him and that afterwards they should all fare and harry together. Then came king Æthelred thither to Lindsey with the full fyrd, before they were ready; and then they harried and burnt and slew all the people whom they might reach. Knut wended out to sea with his fleet, and thus the poor people were deceived through him, and then he wended southward until he came to Sandwich; and there he caused to be put ashore the hostages who had been given to his father, and cut off their hands and ears and noses. And besides, all these evils, the king ordered the host, ~~which~~ lay in Greenwich, to be paid twenty-one thousand pounds. And in this year, on the eve of St. Michael's-mass (Sept. 28th), came the

¹ This is only in D, and is obviously a later insertion, interrupting the text.—Plummer.

² *Principes autem regis et qui cum eo uenerant in Angliam.*

—F Lat.

³ MS. C.

⁴ An outlaw.—C, D.

great sea flood wide throughout this land and ran so far inland as it never before had done, and drowned many villages and a countless number of people.

1015 [E]. In this year was the great council in Oxford; and there aldorman Eadric betrayed Sigferth and Morcar, the chief thegns in the Seven Boroughs. He allured them into his chamber, and they were treacherously slain therein. And then the king took all their possessions, and ordered Sigferth's widow to be taken and to be brought to Malmesbury. Then after a little space, Edmund atheling fared thereto and took the woman against the king's will and had her for wife. Then before the Nativity of St. Mary (Sept. 8th) the atheling fared, from the west, north to the Five Boroughs and straightway took possession of all Sigferth's property and Morcar's; and the folk all submitted to him. And then, during the same time, came king Knut to Sandwich; and forthwith wended about Kent into Wessex, until he came to the mouth of the Frome; and then he harried in Dorset and in Wiltshire and in Somersetshire. At that time lay the king sick at Cosham. Then aldorman Eadric gathered a fyrd, and¹ (likewise did) the atheling Edmund in the north. When they came together, the aldorman would betray the atheling; and then they separated without a battle on that account and made room for their foes. And aldorman Eadric then enticed forty ships from the king and submitted to Knut. And the West-Saxons submitted and gave hostages and horsed the host; and it was there until midwinter.

1016 [E]. Here in this year came king Knut with his host (of 160 ships),² and aldorman Eadric with him, over the Thames at Cricklade into Mercia. And then

¹ And thought to betray the atheling Edmund, but he might not; but he enticed forty ships from the king's ships and submitted. . . . etc.—F.

² These words are only in E and F—wrongly inserted by a scribe, who fancied that a "here" must imply ships. The context clearly points to a land-host; and so Florence of Worcester understands it.

they went to Warwickshire, during the midwinter's tide, and harried and burnt and destroyed everything they found. Then began the atheling Edmund to gather a fyrd. When the fyrd was assembled, they were not content save¹ that the king should be there with them and that they should have the help of the townsmen of London; then they abandoned the expedition and each man fared home. Then after that tide, the fyrd was again called out on pain of full penalty, so that each man, who was capable of military service, should turn out; and they sent to the king at London and prayed him that he would come to meet the fyrd with such help as he might gather. When they had all come together, then it availed naught more than oft before it had done. Then was it made known to the king that they would betray him—those who ought to have been of aid to him. Then he forsook the fyrd and returned to London.

Then rode the atheling Edmund into Northumbria to earl Uhtred, and every man supposed that they would assemble a fyrd against king Knut. Then they fared into Staffordshire and into Shropshire and to Chester; and they harried on their part and Knut on his. He went out through Buckinghamshire into Bedfordshire and thence to Huntingdonshire and [so into Northamptonshire]² along the fens to Stamford and then into Lincolnshire, thence to Nottinghamshire and so to Northumbria towards York. When Uhtred learnt this, he abandoned his harrying and hastened northwards and then submitted from need, and all the Northumbrians with him; and he gave hostages; and notwithstanding they slew him [through the counsel of aldorman Eadric],³ and Thurkytel, son of Nafen, with him. And then, after that, the king Knut placed Eric as earl in Northumbria in like manner as Uhtred had been; and afterwards they wended southward, by another way, all to the west; and then before Easter the whole host came to their ships. And the atheling

¹ Unless it were that. . . .—D.

² MS. D.

³ MS. C.

Edmund went to London to his father. And then, after Easter, went king Knut with all his ships towards London.

Then it befell that king Æthelred died before the ships arrived. He ended his days on St. George's mass-day (April 23rd) after the great oppression and hardship of his life. And then, after his death, all the witan, who were in London, and the townsmen chose Edmund for king; and he resolutely defended his kingdom the while that his time was. ✓

Then came the ships to Greenwich at Rogation days (May 7th). And within a little time they went to London, and dug one big ditch on the south side and drew their ships to the west side of the bridge; and afterwards they surrounded the town with a dike from the outside so that no man might go either in or out; and repeatedly they fought against the town, but the townsmen resolutely withstood them. Before that had king Edmund gone out; and he overran Wessex, and all the folk submitted to him. And speedily after that, he fought against the host at Pen, near Gillingham. And a second battle he fought after midsummer at Sherston; and there was great slaughter made on either side, and the two hosts of themselves separated from the fight; and aldorman Eadric and Ælmær darling were helping the host against king Edmund. Then for the third time he gathered a fyrd and fared to London [all to the north of the Thames, and so out through Clayhanger];¹ and relieved the townsmen and drove the host in flight to their ships. And two days after, the king went over [the river] at Brentford, and there fought against the host and put them to flight; and there many of the English folk were drowned, from their own carelessness—those who fared before the fyrd and would take booty. And after that the king went into Wessex and collected his fyrd. Then the host went straightway to London and beset the town from without and strongly² fought

¹ MS. C.

² Stoutly.—D.

against it both by water and by land. But the almighty God delivered it.

Then after that, the host went from London with their ships into the Orwell and fared inland and advanced into Mercia and destroyed and burnt whatsoever they overran, as their wont was, and provided themselves with food; and they led both their ships and herds into the Medway. Then for the fourth time king Edmund assembled the whole nation of the English, and fared over the Thames at Brentford and fared into Kent; and the host fled before him, with their horses, into Sheppey; and the king slew as many of them as he might overtake. And aldorman Eadric went there to meet the king at Aylesford—never was greater ill-counsel counselled than that was.

Ashingdon

Then the host went again inland into Essex and fared into Mercia and destroyed whatever it overran. When the king learnt that the host was inland, then assembled he for the fifth time the whole nation of the English, and followed after them and overtook them in Essex at the hill which is called Ashingdon; and there they stoutly joined battle. Then did aldorman Eadric as he oft before had done: first began the flight with the Magesæte and so betrayed his royal lord and the whole people [of the English race].¹ There Knut got the victory; and gained all England for himself. There was slain [bishop]² Eadnoth and abbot Wulfsig and aldorman Ælfric and aldorman Godwin and Ulfkytel of East-Anglia and Æthelward, son of aldorman Æthelsig,³ and all the nobility of the English race [was then destroyed].⁴

Then after this battle king Knut went inland with his host into Gloucestershire, where he heard say that the king Edmund was. Then advised aldorman Eadric and the witan, who were there [gathered],⁵ that the kings should be reconciled. And they gave hostages between themselves; and both the kings came together

¹ C and D.

⁴ C.

² D.

³ Æthelwin.—C, rightly.

⁵ MS. D.

at Olanig [near Deerhurst, and became comrades and pledge-brothers]¹ and there confirmed their friendship both with pledge and with oath, and fixed the geld for the host. And afterwards, they separated with this reconcilment; and king Edmund obtained Wessex² and Knut Mercia.

Then the host went to their ships with the things which they had taken. And the men of London made a truce with the host and bought themselves peace; and the host brought their ships into London and took up their winter-quarters therein.

Then on St. Andrew's mass (Nov. 30th) died king EDMUND;³ and he is buried with his grandfather Edgar in Glastonbury.⁴ And in the same year died Wulfgar, abbot in Abingdon; and Æthelsige succeeded to (the vacant seat).

1016 [F]. Here came Knut with 160 ships, and aldorman Eadric with him, over the Thames at Cricklade into Mercia; and wended then into Warwickshire, wherein they burnt and destroyed everything they found. And Edmund atheling went to London to his father; and Knut fared with all his ships towards London.

But the king Æthelred died before the ships arrived. He died on St. George's mass-day after the great oppression and hardship of his life: and after his death all the witan of the English race chose Edmund for king; and he resolutely defended his kingdom in his time.

Then the ships came to Greenwich at Rogation days and straightway went to London and dug one ditch on the south side and dragged their ships to the western side of the bridge and afterwards surrounded the town with a dike from the outside so that no man might go either in or out: and often they fought against the town, but the townsmen resolutely withstood them.

Then after that, the host went from London with

¹ MS. D.

² And Knut the northern part.—D.

³ Sic MS. D.

⁴ Et Cnut postea regnavit super Angliam totam.—F Lat.

their ships into the Orwell and fared inland into Mercia and slew and burnt as their wont was. Then for the fourth time king Edmund gathered the whole nation of the English and fared into Kent, and the host fled with their horses into Sheppey; and the king slew as many as he might overtake, and aldorman Eadric went to meet the king at Aylesford—never was greater ill-counsel counselled than that was.¹

The host fared again into Mercia; that heard the king. Then gathered he for the fifth time the whole nation of the English and fared after the host and overtook it at Ashingdon; and there they stoutly joined battle . . . [*from here MS. F is the same as MS. E. See above*].

✓ 1017 [E]. Here in this year king Knut succeeded to the whole kingdom of the English race² and divided it into four parts: Wessex to himself, and East-Anglia to Thurkill, and Mercia to Eadric, and Northumbria to Eric. And in this year was aldorman Eadric slain [in London, very justly]³ and Northman, son of aldorman Leofwin, and Æthelward, son of Æthelmær the big, and Brihtric, son of Ælfheah⁴ in Devonshire. And king Knut banished Eadwig atheling [and afterwards commanded him to be slain], and Eadwig, churls' king. And then before the kalend of August (Aug. 1st) the king commanded Richard's daughter, the widow of the other king Æthelred, to be fetched for his queen; [that was Ælfifu in English, Emma in French].⁵

1017 [A]. Here was Knut chosen king.

1018 [E]. In this year the tribute was levied throughout the whole English nation; that was altogether two and seventy thousand pounds, besides that which the townsmen in London paid [which was] ten and a half

¹ Sed cum peruenissent rex ad Ægelesford, dux Eadricus per dolum fecit exercitum Anglorum redire. Non fuit peius concilium factum in Anglia de tali re.—F Lat.

² Whole kingdom of England.—D.

³ MS. F.

⁴ Ælfget, of MS. E, is a mis-spelling.

thousand pounds.¹ And then a part of the host fared to Denmark, and forty ships remained with king Knut. And the Danes and the English were united at Oxford [to Edgar's law].² And here died Æthelsige, abbot in Abingdon; and Æthelwin succeeded him.

1019 [D]. Here king Knut went with forty ships to Denmark and abode there all the winter. And here died archbishop Ælfstan, who was named Living; and he was a very wise man, both in ecclesiastical and in civil matters.

1020 [D]. Here king Knut came again to England; and then at Easter was a great council at Cirencester. Then was outlawed aldorman Æthelward; and in this year the king and earl Thurkil fared to Ashingdon, and archbishop Wulfstan and other bishops and also abbots and many monks; and they consecrated the minster at Ashingdon. And Æthelnoth monk, who was dean at Christ-Church, was in the same year consecrated bishop to Christ-Church on the Ides of November (Nov. 13th).

1020 [E]. Here king Knut came to England; and then at Easter was a great council in Cirencester. Then was outlawed aldorman Æthelward [and Eadwig, churls' king];³ and in this year the king fared to Ashingdon,⁴ [and archbishop Wulfstan and earl Thurkil and many bishops with them; and they consecrated the minster at Ashingdon].⁵ And archbishop Living died; and Æthelnoth, monk and dean at Christ-Church, was the same year consecrated bishop thereto [by archbishop Wulfstan].⁶

1021 [D]. Here in this year, at Martin's mass (Nov. 11th), king Knut outlawed earl Thurkil; and bishop Ælfgar the charitable died in the early morning of Christmas.

¹ This is the reading of MS. C, D; that of E, F—eleven thousand pounds—is a mere slip.

² D.

³ MS. C.

⁴ And caused to be built there a monastery (of stone and lime for the souls of the men who were there slain, and gave it to one of his priests whose name was Stigand).—MS. F.

⁵ MS. F. A Wulstano arepo Eboracensi.—F Lat.

1022 [D]. Here king Knut fared out with his ships to the Isle of Wight. And archbishop Æthelnoth fared to Rome and was there received by Benedict, the reverend pope, with great worship; and he with his own hands placed his pall upon him and very honourably consecrated him archbishop¹ and blessed him, on the Nones of October (Oct. 7th). And therewith the archbishop, on the same day, sang mass; and afterwards was honourably entertained by the same pope, and also himself took the pall from St. Peter's altar; and thence blithely fared home to his country. [And abbot Leofwin, who had been unjustly driven out from Ely, was his companion; and he cleared himself of everything that was said against him, as the pope taught him, on the testimony of the archbishop and of all the fellowship which was with him.]²

1023 [D]. Here king Knut, in St. Paul's church, within London, gave full leave to archbishop Æthelnoth and bishop Brihtwin and to all the servants of God who were with them, that they might take up from the tomb the archbishop St. Ælfheah. And they did so on vi id. Junii (June 8th). And the renowned king and the archbishop and suffragan bishops and earls and very many clergy and laymen also carried in a ship the holy body of him over the Thames to Southwark, and there delivered the holy martyr to the archbishop and his companions; and they then, with a worthy band and winsome joy, bore him to Rochester. Then on the third day came the lady Emma with her royal child Hardaknut; and they all with great pomp and bliss and glory bore the holy archbishop into Canterbury and then worshipfully brought him into Christ-Church on iii id. Junii (June 11th). Again after that on the 8th day, on xvii kl. Julii (June 15th), archbishop Æthelnoth and bishop Ælfsige and bishop Brihtwin and all those who were with them deposited

¹ And afterwards with the pall he said mass there, as the pope directed him; and after that he feasted with the pope; and thence wended homewards with a full blessing.—E.

² E.

St. Ælfheah's holy body on the north side of Christ's altar, to the glory of God and the honour of the holy archbishop and the eternal health of all who seek daily there his holy body with devout heart and all humility. God Almighty have mercy on all christian men through St. Ælfheah's holy merits!

1023 [E]. Here died archbishop Wulfstan, and Ælfric succeeded him [and archbishop Æthelnoth blessed him in Canterbury].¹ And the same year archbishop Æthelnoth bore the remains of archbishop St. Ælfheah from London to Canterbury.

1023 [C]. Here king Knut came again to England, and Thurkil and he were reconciled, and he entrusted Denmark and his son to Thurkil's keeping; and the king took Thurkil's son with him to England; and afterwards he caused St. Ælfheah's remains to be borne from London to Canterbury.

1024 [E.] Hic Ricardus secundus obiit; Ricardus filius eius regnauit prope uno anno, et post eum regnauit Rodbertus frater eius viii annis.

1025 [E]. Here king Knut fared to Denmark, with his ships, to the holm at the holy river. And there came against him Ulf and Eglaf and a very great host, both a land-host and a ship-host, from Sweden. And there very many men were destroyed on king Knut's side, both of Danish-men and of English; and the Swedes held the place of slaughter.

1026 [D]. Here bishop Ælfric fared to Rome and received his pall from pope John, on ii id. Novemb. (Nov. 12th).

1028 [E]. Here king Knut fared from England with fifty ships² to Norway and drove king Olaf out of the land and made good his claim to that land.

1029 [E]. Here king Knut came home again to England.

1030 [E]. Here king Olaf came again into Norway, and the folk gathered against him and fought with him, and there he was slain.

¹ MS. F.

² Of English thegns.—F. De nobilibus Anglie.—F Lat.

1030 [c]. Here king Olaf was slain in Norway by his own folk; and afterwards was sainted. And in this year, before that, died Hacon the doughty earl at sea.

1031 [E]. Here king Knut fared to Rome. And the same year [as soon as he came home]¹ he fared into Scotland; and Malcolm king of Scots submitted to him [and became his man, but he held to that only a little while],¹ and two other kings, Mælbæth and lehmarc. [And Robert, earl of Normandy, fared to Jerusalem and there died; and William, who was afterwards king in England, succeeded to Normandy though he was a child].²

1031 [A]. Here Knut came back to England. And as soon as he came to England, he gave to Christ-Church in Canterbury the haven in Sandwich and all the dues that arise therefrom on either side of the haven; so that lo! when the flood is highest and fullest, if a ship be floating as near the land as it can, and there be a man standing on the ship and he have a taper-axe in his hand. . . .

1032 [E]. Here in this year appeared the wild-fire, such as no man before remembered; and moreover everywhere it did damage, in many places. And in the same year died Ælfsige, bishop in Winchester, and Ælfwin the king's priest succeeded thereto.

1033 [E]. Here in this year died Merehwit, bishop in Somerset, and he is buried in Glastonbury. [Here died bishop Leofsige, and his body rests in Worcester; and Brihteh was raised to his see.]¹

1034 [D]. Here died bishop Ælfric, and he lies in Ramsey. The same year died Malcolm, king in Scotland.

✓ 1035 [D]. Here king Knut died; and Harold, his son, succeeded to the kingdom. He departed at Shaftesbury on ii id. November (November 12th); and he was carried to Winchester and there buried. And at that time the lady Ælfgifu [Emma] sat therein; and

¹ MS. D.

² MS. F. E includes the following Latin entry under this year:—
Rodbertus comes obiit in peregrinatione, et successit rex Willelmus in puerili ætate.

Harold said that he was son of Knut and of Ælfgifu of Northampton, though it was not true; he sent thither and caused to be taken from her all the best treasures which king Knut had owned [and these she could not retain]; but nevertheless she sat therein as long as she might.¹

1036 [E]. Here died king Knut at Shaftesbury, and he is buried at Winchester in the Old Minster; and he was king over all England well nigh twenty years. And straightway after his decease was a meeting of all the witan at Oxford; and earl Leofric and almost all the thegns from the north of the Thames and the shipmen in London chose Harold to rule all England for himself and his brother Hardaknut, who was in Denmark. And earl Godwin and all the chief men in Wessex opposed it as long as they might, but they were unable to devise anything against it. And then it was determined that Ælfgifu, Hardaknut's mother, should sit in Winchester with the housecarls of the king, her son, and hold all Wessex for his authority; and earl Godwin was their most devoted man. Some men said concerning Harold that he was the son of king Knut and of Ælfgifu, daughter of aldorman Ælfhelm, but it seemed quite incredible to many men; and he was nevertheless full king over England.

1036 [c]. Here Alfred, the innocent atheling, son of king Æthelred, came inland thither, and would go to his mother who sat at Winchester; but that neither earl Godwin nor other men, who held much power, allowed because the general voice was then greatly in favour of Harold; though that was unjust.

But Godwin him prevented and set in bonds; and his comrades he dispersed and some diversely slew; some they sold for money, some cruelly killed,

¹ C's account is the same as that of D, save for (i) the additions (enclosed in brackets above); (ii) description of Ælfgifu of Northampton as "the other Ælgyfu"; (iii) the beginning which runs "Here king Knut died on ii id. November at Shaftesbury, and he was carried. . . ." E is certainly wrong in placing Knut's death in 1036.

some did they bind, some did they blind,
 some mutilated, some scalped.
 Nor was a bloodier deed done in this land
 since the Danes came and here took peace.
 Now must we trust to the beloved God
 that they enjoy bliss blithely with Christ
 who were without guilt so miserably slain.
 The atheling yet lived: every ill they promised him
 till it was resolved that they should lead him
 to Ely-borough all so bound.
 Soon as he came to land, in the ship he was blinded;
 and him thus blind they brought to the monks;
 and he there abode the while that he lived.
 Afterwards he was buried, as well befitted him,
 that was full worthily, as he was worthy,
 at the west end in the southern chapel,
 full near the steeple. His soul is with Christ.

1036 [D]. Here Alfred the innocent atheling, son of
 king Æthelred, came inland hither and would go to
 his mother, who sat in Winchester; but they, who
 held much power in this land, did not allow it because
 the general voice was then greatly in favour of Harold;
 though that was unjust.

Then did he cause him to be set in bonds
 and his comrades he dispersed

[and continues henceforth as in 1036 [C].]

1037 [C]. Here Harold was chosen over all as king, and
 Hardaknut forsaken because he was too long in Den-
 mark. And then his mother Ælfgifu the queen was
 driven out, without any mercy, against the stormy
 winter; and she came to Bruges beyond sea; and earl
 Baldwin well received her and kept her there the
 while she had need. And before this, in the year, died
 Æfic, the noble dean in Evesham.

1037 [E]. Here was driven out Ælfgifu, king Knut's
 widow;¹ she was king Hardaknut's mother. And
 then she sought the protection of Baldwin to the
 south of the sea [in Flanders];² and he gave her a

¹ And the mother of Edward and of Hardaknut.—F.

² MS. F.

dwelling in Bruges and protected her and [honourably]¹ kept her the while she was there.

1038 [E]. Here died archbishop Æthelnoth on kal. November (Nov. 1st), and a little time afterwards Æthelric bishop in Sussex, and then before Christmas, Brihteah bishop in Worcestershire, and soon after, Ælfric bishop in East-Anglia. And then bishop Eadsige² succeeded to the archbishopric, and Grymkytel to that in Sussex, and bishop Living to Worcestershire and to Gloucestershire.

1038 [C]. Here died Æthelnoth the good archbishop; and Æthelric bishop in Sussex, [who desired of God that he would not let him live any while after his dear father Æthelnoth, and accordingly within seven nights after he departed;]³ and Ælfric bishop in East-Anglia, and Brihteah bishop in Worcestershire xiii kal. January (Dec. 20th).

1039 [C]. Here came the great wind; and bishop Briht-mær died in Lichfield. And the Welsh slew Edwin, brother of earl Leofric, and Thurkil and Ælfget and very many good men with them. And here also came Hardaknut to Bruges, where his mother was.

1039 [E]. Here king Harold died in Oxford on xvi kal. April (Mar. 17th), and he was buried at Westminster. And he ruled England four years and sixteen weeks; and in his days sixteen ships received payment at [the rate of] eight marks per man, in like manner as had been done before in the days of king Knut. And in this same year came king Hardaknut to Sandwich seven nights before midsummer. And he was straightway received both by English and by Danes; though his councillors severely requited it when they decreed that sixty-two ships should receive payment at [the rate of] eight marks per man. And in this same year the sester of wheat went up to fifty-five pence, and even further.

1040 [C]. Here died king Harold. Then they sent after Hardaknut to Bruges; and thought that they did well. And he came hither with sixty ships before midsum-

¹ MS. F.

² The king's priest.—F.

³ MS. D.

mer and then imposed a very severe geld so that it might hardly be endured—that was eight marks per man. And then were all unfriendly to him who before had desired him; and moreover he accomplished nothing royal the while that he reigned. He caused the dead Harold to be taken up and cast into a fen.

1040 [E]. Here was the geld paid—that was twenty-one thousand and ninety-nine pounds. And after that thirty-two ships received eight thousand and forty-eight pounds. And in the same year came Edward, son of king Æthelred, hither to land from foreign parts; he was brother of king Hardaknut; they were both sons of Ælfgifu who was earl Richard's daughter.

1040 [A]. Here archbishop Eadsige fared to Rome; and king Harold died.

1041 [C]. Here Hardaknut caused all Worcestershire to be harried on account of his two housecarls, who levied the severe geld—when the folk slew them in the town within the church. And this year, soon after, came from beyond sea Edward, his brother on the mother's side, son of king Æthelred, who before for many years had been driven from his country; and yet was an oath administered to him as king; and he dwelt thus in his brother's household the while he lived. In this year also Hardaknut betrayed earl Eadulf under his protection, and then he was a belier of his troth. [And here bishop Æthelric was consecrated to York on iii id. January (Jan. 11th)].¹

1041 [E]. Here died king Hardaknut at Lambeth on vi id. June (June 8th); and he was king over all England two years save ten nights;² and he is buried in the Old Minster at Winchester with king Knut his father. And before he was buried, all folk chose Edward for king in London; may he hold it the while God shall grant it to him! And all that year was a very heavy time, in many things and divers, both as

¹ MS. D.

² F continues:—and he lies at Winchester in the Old Minster. And his mother gave, for his soul, to the New Minster the head of St. Valentine the martyr. And before the king was buried . . . etc.

Ed. arrives

to bad weather and to the fruits of the earth. And so much cattle perished in the year as no man before remembered, both by reason of divers diseases and of the storms. In this same time died Ælfsin, abbot of Peterborough; and then Arnwi monk was chosen abbot because he was a very good man and very simple.

1042 [c]. Here died king Hardaknut as he stood at his drink; and he suddenly fell to the earth with a terrible convulsion, and then they who were nigh there seized hold of him, and after that he spake no word; and he died on vi id. June (June 8th). And all folk received Edward for king as was his true natural right.

1042 [A]. Here died king Hardaknut.

1043 [c]. Here was Edward consecrated king in Winchester on the first day of Easter with great honour; and then was Easter on iii Nones April (April 3rd). Archbishop Eadsige consecrated him and before all the folk well instructed him and for his own need and all the folk's well admonished him. And Stigand priest was blessed as bishop to East-Anglia. And soon after, the king caused all the lands which his mother possessed to be seized into his hands, and he took from her all that she possessed—in gold and in silver and in things unspeakable—because she had before held it too strictly with him. And soon after, Stigand was deposed from his bishopric, and all that he possessed was seized into the king's hands, because he was nearest to his mother's counsel, and she fared just as he advised—as men supposed.

[*Owing to a mistake in the chronology, we have the following chronicle of events in MS. E.*]

1042 (= 1043) [E]. Here was Edward consecrated king in Winchester on Easter day with great honour; and then was Easter on iii Nones April. Archbishop Eadsige consecrated him and before all the folk well instructed him and for his own need and the whole folk's well admonished him.¹ And Stigand priest was

¹ Well instructed him for his own need and for the profit of the whole folk.—F.

blessed as bishop to East-Anglia. And soon after the king caused all the lands which his mother possessed to be seized into his hands, and he took from her all that she possessed—in gold and in silver and in things unspeakable—because she had before held it too strictly with him.

1043 (= 1044) [E]. Here archbishop Eadsige gave up the bishopric by reason of his infirmity, and he blessed thereto Siward, abbot of Abingdon, as bishop by leave and counsel of the king and of earl Godwin; it was known to few men else before it was done because the archbishop thought that some other man would pray¹ for it or pay for it in whom he might have less trust and confidence, if more men should know of it. And in this [year] was a very great famine over all England, and corn was so dear as no man before remembered; so that the sester of wheat went up to sixty pence and even further. And in the same year the king fared out to Sandwich with thirty-five ships; and Æthelstan churchwarden succeeded to the abbacy at Abingdon. And Stigand obtained his bishopric (again).

1043 (= 1045) [E]. Here king Edward took earl Godwin's daughter for queen. And in this same year died bishop Brihtwold, and he held the bishopric thirty-eight winters—[that was the bishopric of Sherborne]²—and Hereman the king's priest succeeded to the bishopric. And in this year Wulfric was consecrated abbot at St. Augustin's at Christmas on Stephen's mass-day (Dec. 26th)—[a second Christmas day]²—by leave of the king and of abbot Ælfstan, on account of his (*i.e.*, Ælfstan's) great infirmity.

1043 [D]. Here was Edward consecrated king at Winchester on the first day of Easter. And this year, fourteen nights before Andrew's mass (Nov. 16th), such advice was given to the king that he rode from Gloucester, and earl Leofric and earl Godwin and earl Siward with their followers, to Winchester unawares

¹ A rege aut pretio aut servitio illud quereretur.—F Lat.

² MS. F.

upon the lady; and they bereaved her of all the treasures that she possessed—which were not to be told—because before she had been very hard with the king her son, inasmuch as she had done less for him than he would before he was king and also since then; and after that they allowed her to reside therein.

1044 [c]. Here archbishop Eadsige gave up the bishopric by reason of his infirmity, and he blessed thereto Siward, abbot of Abingdon, as bishop by leave and counsel of the king and of earl Godwin; it was known to few men else before it was done because the archbishop thought that some other man, in whom he might have less trust and confidence, would pray or pay for it, if more men should know of it. And in this year was a very great famine over all England, and corn was so dear as no man before remembered, so that the sester of wheat went up to sixty pence and even farther. And in the same year the king fared out to Sandwich with thirty-five ships; and Æthelstan churchwarden succeeded to the abbacy at Abingdon. And in the same year king Edward took Edith, earl Godwin's daughter, to him as wife ten nights before Candlemas (June 23rd).

1044 (= 1046) [E]. Here died Living bishop in Devonshire, and Leofric, who was the king's priest, succeeded thereto. And in this same year died Ælfstan abbot at St. Augustin's, on iii Nones July (July 5th). And in this same year Osgod Clapa was banished.

1045 [c]. Here in this year died bishop Brihtwold on x kal. May (April 22nd); and king Edward gave the bishopric to Hereman his priest. And in the same summer king Edward fared out with his ships to Sandwich; and there so great a host was gathered that no man had seen a greater fleet in this land. And in this same year died bishop Living on xiii kal. April (Mar. 20th); and the king gave the bishopric to Leofric his priest.

1045¹ [D]. Here died Ælfward, bishop in London, on

¹ This should be 1044, but D has omitted that figure. This error

viii kal. Aug. (July 25th). He was abbot in Evesham first and greatly advanced the monastery the while he was there. He went then to Ramsey and there gave up his life. And Manni was chosen abbot and consecrated on iv id. Aug. (August 10th). And in this year was driven out Gunnhild, the noble woman, king Knut's kinswoman; and thence she sat at Bruges a long while and afterwards fared to Denmark.

1045 (= 1047) [E]. Here died Grymkytel, bishop in Sussex; and Heca the king's priest succeeded thereto. And in this year died Ælfwin bishop in Winchester on iv kal. September (Aug. 29th), and Stigand, bishop to the north, succeeded thereto. And in the same year earl Swegen fared out to Bruges in Baldwin's land and dwelt there all the winter and then in the summer he went out [to sea].

1046 (= 1045) [D]. Here died Brihtwold, bishop in Wiltshire, and Hereman was appointed to his see. In that year king Edward gathered a large ship-fyrd at Sandwich on account of the threatening of Magnus in Norway; but his and Swegen's strife in Denmark hindered him from coming hither.

1046 [C]. Here in this year earl Swegen fared into Wales, and Griffin the northern king went forth with him; and hostages were given him. When he was on his way homewards, he bade bring to him the abbess in Leominster; and he had her as long as he listed; and after that, he let her go home. And in this same year Osgod Clapa was outlawed before midwinter. And in this same year, after Candlemas (Feb. 2nd), came the severe winter with frost and with snow and with all kinds of tempestuous weather so that there was no man alive who could remember so severe a winter as this was, both through mortality of men and murrain of cattle; both birds and fishes perished through the great cold and famine.

1046 (= 1048) [E]. *Bellum apud Uallium Dunas.* Here

makes his chronology wrong for the next eight years. He rights it at length by putting 1052 twice.

died Æthelstan, abbot in Abingdon; and Sparrowhawk, monk of St. Edmund's-bury, succeeded him. And in this same year died bishop Siward, and archbishop Eadsige again obtained the whole bishopric. And in this same year Lothen and Irling came to Sandwich with twenty-five ships and took there unspeakable booty, in men and in gold and in silver so that no man knew how much it all was. And then they went about Thanet and would do there the like, but the land-folk boldly withstood them and prevented them from going inland and [getting] water; and thence withal put them to flight. And then they betook themselves into Essex and harried there and took men and whatsoever they might find. Then they betook themselves east to Baldwin's land and there sold what they had plundered; and after that, they fared east to the place whence before they had come.

1046¹ (= 1049) [E]. Here in this year was the great synod at Rheims. Thereat was Leo the pope² and the archbishop of Burgundy and the archbishop of Besançon and the archbishop of Treves and the archbishop of Rheims; and many a man besides, ecclesiastical and lay. And king Edward sent thither bishop Dudoc and Wulfric, abbot of St. Augustin's, and abbot Ælfwin that they might make known to the king what should be resolved on there for christendom. And in this same year king Edward fared out to Sandwich with a great fleet. And earl Swegen came in with seven ships to Bosham and made his peace with the king; and it was promised him that he should be [declared] worthy of every thing which before he possessed. But earl Harold his brother and earl Beorn opposed this,³ contending that he should not be [de-

¹ *Sic* MS. 1046 repeated—hence further departure from the true chronology in E.

² And many a wise man, ecclesiastical and lay.—F.

³ And in consequence he was ordered out [of the country] within four nights; and then he fared and spoke with his father, who lay at Pevensey, and with earl Beorn, who was there with Godwin, and he begged, etc.—F. *Ut si post triduum inueniretur in Anglia, deberet poni in custodia.*—F Lat.

clared] worthy of any of the things which the king had granted him; in consequence four nights' grace was given him [to return] to his ships. Then it was during this time that word came to the king that hostile ships lay to the west and were harrying. Then earl Godwin went west about with two of the king's ships—the one earl Harold commanded and the other Tostig his brother—and forty-two ships of the landsmen. Then earl Beorn¹ was appointed captain of the king's ship, which before earl Harold had commanded. Then went they west to Pevensey and lay there weather-bound. Whereupon, within two days, earl Swegen came thither, and spoke with his father and with earl Beorn, and begged of Beorn that he would fare with him to the king at Sandwich and help him to the king's friendship; and he granted it. Then they wended as if they would go to the king. Whilst they were riding, Swegen begged of him that he should fare with him to his ships, saying that his seamen would depart from him unless he went at once to them. Then they both went to where his ships lay. When they came thither, earl Swegen begged him to go aboard ship with him. He refused vehemently so long until [Swegen's] seamen seized him and threw him into the boat and bound him and rowed to the ship and put him there aboard. Then they hoisted their sails and ran west to Axmouth and had him with them until they slew him; and they took the body and buried it in a church. And then his friends and sailors came from London and took him up and bore him to the Old Minster at Winchester; and he is there buried with king Knut his uncle. And Swegen wended east to Baldwin's land and sat there all the winter in Bruges with his full protection.

And in the same year died Eadnoth, bishop to the north, and Ulf was appointed bishop.

1047 [c]. Here in this year died bishop Grymkytel; he was bishop in Sussex and he lies in Christ-Church at

¹ The text has Harold—an evident mistake for Beorn.

Canterbury; and king Edward gave the bishopric to Heca his priest. And in the same year died bishop Ælfwin on iv kal. Sept. (Aug. 29th); and king Edward gave the bishopric to bishop Stigand. And Æthelstan, abbot in Abingdon, died in the same year on iv kal. April (March 29th); then was Easter-day on iii nones April (April 3rd). And over all England was a very great mortality in the same year.

1047 (= 1046) [D]. Here died Living the eloquent bishop on x kal. April (Mar. 23rd) and he had three bishoprics; one in Devonshire, one in Cornwall, one in Worcester. Then Leofric succeeded to Devonshire and Cornwall and bishop Aldred to Worcester. And here Osgod staller was outlawed; and Magnus won Denmark.

1048 [C]. Here in this year was a great earthquake wide throughout England. In the same year Sandwich and the isle of Wight were harried, and the best men who were there slain. And after that king Edward and the earls fared out with their ships. And in the same year bishop Siward gave up the bishopric on account of his infirmity and fared to Abingdon. And archbishop Eadsige again received the bishopric. And he (*i.e.* Siward) died within eight weeks after on x kal. Nov. (Oct. 23rd).

1048 (= 1047) [D]. Here was the hard winter; and this year died Ælfwin, bishop in Winchester, and bishop Stigand was raised to his see. And before that, in the same year, died Grymkytel, bishop in Sussex, and Heca priest succeeded to the bishopric. And Swegen (*i.e.* king of the Danes) also sent thither, praying for help against Magnus king of the Norwegians: that fifty ships should be sent to his aid—but it seemed unadvisable to all folk; and then it was prevented—for the reason that Magnus had a great naval force. And then he drove out Swegen and with much man-slaying won the land; and the Danes paid him much money and received him as king. And the same year Magnus died.

1049 (= 1048) [D]. Here Swegen came again to Denmark. And Harold, father's brother of Magnus, fared

to Norway after Magnus was dead; and the Northmen received him, and he sent hither to land concerning peace. And Swegen also sent from Denmark and craved from king Edward naval support, which should be at least fifty ships; but all folk opposed it. And here was also an earthquake on kal. May (May 1st) in many places, in Worcester and in Wick and in Derby and elsewhere; and also there was a very great mortality among men and a murrain among cattle; and the wild-fire also did much evil in Derbyshire and elsewhere.

1049 [c]. Here in this year the emperor gathered a countless fyrd against Baldwin of Bruges by reason that he had destroyed the palace of Nymegen and also that he had done many other ill-turns to him. The fyrd was not to be told which he had gathered. There was Leo the pope of Rome and many great men of many peoples. He sent also to king Edward and craved naval support from him that he should not suffer him to escape from him by water. And then he (*i.e.* king Edward) fared to Sandwich and lay there with a great fleet until the emperor had from Baldwin all what he would.

Thither came back again earl Swegen to king Edward and requested land of him in order that he might maintain himself thereon. But Harold his brother and earl Beorn opposed this, saying that they would not give up to him anything which the king had given to them. He came thither with guile, saying that he would be his (*i.e.* the king's) man and begged of earl Beorn that he would aid him; but the king refused him everything. Then went Swegen to his ships at Bosham; and earl Godwin fared from Sandwich with forty-two ships to Pevensey, and earl Beorn went forth with him; and then the king gave leave to all the Mercians to go home; and they did so. Then was it made known to the king that Osgod lay at Wulpe with thirty-nine ships. Then the king sent after those ships which he was able to summon and which lay within the North mouth [of the Stour]. But Osgod placed his wife in Bruges and wended back again

with six ships; and the others fared to Eadulf's-ness in Essex and did much harm there and went again to their ships. Then lay earl Godwin and earl Beorn at Pevensey with their ships. Then came earl Swegen with fraud and begged of earl Beorn that he would be his companion to the king at Sandwich, saying that he was willing to swear oaths to him and be faithful to him. Then Beorn thought that on account of their kinship he would not deceive him, took with him three companions, and then they rode to Bosham—where Swegen's ships lay—all as if they were making for Sandwich. And he was straightway bound and led aboard ship; and then they fared to Dartmouth, and he caused him to be slain there and deeply buried. But him his kinsman Harold fetched thence and bore to Winchester and buried there with king Knut his uncle. And then the king and the whole host declared Swegen a nithing. Eight ships he had before he murdered Beorn; after that, all save two forsook him; and then he went to Bruges and abode there with Baldwin.

And in this year died Eadnoth the good bishop in Oxfordshire and Oswig abbot in Thorney and Wulfnoth abbot in Westminster; and king Edward gave the bishopric to Ulf his priest and badly bestowed it.

And in this same year king Edward paid off nine ships; and they fared away, ships and all; and five ships remained behind and the king promised them twelve months' geld.

And in the same year bishop Hereman and bishop Ealdred fared to Rome to the pope on the king's errand.
1050 (= 1049) [D]. In this year the emperor gathered a countless fyrd against Baldwin of Bruges by reason that he had destroyed the palace of Nymegen and also that he had done many other ill-turns to him. The fyrd was not to be told which he had gathered. Thereat was the pope and the patriarch and many other great men of every people. He sent also to king Edward and craved naval support from him that he should not suffer him to escape from him by water. And then he (*i.e.*

king Edward) fared to Sandwich and lay there with a great fleet until the emperor had from Baldwin all what he would.

Thither came also earl Swegen, who before had fared from this land into Denmark and there had ruined himself with the Danes. He came hither with guile, saying that he was willing to submit to the king again. And earl Beorn promised him that he would be of assistance to him. Then after the reconciliation of the emperor and of Baldwin, many of the ships fared home and the king remained behind at Sandwich with a few ships. And earl Godwin also fared with forty-two ships from Sandwich to Pevensey, and earl Beorn fared with him. Then was it made known to the king that Osgod lay at Wulpe with thirty-nine ships; and then the king sent after those ships which he was able to summon and which before had gone home. And Osgod placed his wife in Bruges and then wended back again with six ships; and the others fared into Sussex to Eadulf's-ness and did harm there and went again to their ships. And then came against them a strong wind so that they were all lost save four; and these were slain beyond sea (*i.e.* on the continent). While earl Godwin and earl Beorn lay at Pevensey, then came earl Swegen and with fraud begged of earl Beorn, who was his uncle's son, to be his companion to the king at Sandwich and repair his affairs with him. Then, on account of his kinship, he went with three companions with him, and he led him towards Bosham, where his ships lay; and then he was bound and led aboard ship. Thence he wended with him to Dartmouth and there ordered him to be slain and deeply buried. Afterwards he was found and borne to Winchester and buried with king Knut his uncle. A little before that the men of Hastings and [the district] thereabout won two of his ships with their ships; and slew all the men and brought the ships to Sandwich to the king. Eight ships he had, before he betrayed Beorn; afterwards all save two forsook him.

In the same year thirty-six ships from Ireland came inland up the Welsh Usk and thereabout did harm with the help of Griffin, the Welsh king. The folk were gathered against them; bishop Ealdred was also there with them; but they had too small a force. And they came unawares upon them very early in the morning; and there they slew many good men and the others escaped with the bishop; this was done on iv kal. Aug. (July 29th).

This year died in Oxfordshire Oswig abbot in Thorney and Wulfnoth abbot in Westminster. And Ulf priest was appointed as guardian to the bishopric which Eadnoth had had; but he was afterwards driven away because he accomplished nothing bishop-like therein, so that we are ashamed now to relate more about it. And abbot Siward died; he lies in Abingdon.

And here was consecrated the great church at Rheims. There was the pope Leo and the emperor and a great synod they had there concerning God's service. St. Leo pope presided at the synod; it is difficult to know of the bishops and at any rate of the abbots who came thereto; and two were sent hence from this land—from St. Augustin's and from Ramsey.

1047 (=1050) [E]. Here in this year was a great council in London at Mid-lent; and nine ships of sailors were disbanded and five remained behind. And in this same year earl Swegen came to England.

And in this same year was the great synod at Rome and king Edward sent thither bishop Hereman and bishop Ealdred; and they came hither on Easter-eve. And afterwards the pope had a synod at Vercelli and bishop Ulf came thereto, and they were well-nigh breaking his staff, if he had not given very great treasures, because he knew not how to do his duties so well as he should. And in this year died archbishop Eadsige iv kal. Nov. (Oct. 29th).

1050 [C]. Here in this year came the bishops home from Rome; and earl Swegen was inlawed. And in this same year died archbishop Eadsige on iv kal. Nov.

(Oct. 29th) and also in the same year Ælfric, archbishop in York, on xi kal. Feb. (Jan. 22nd), and his body lies in Peterborough. Then king Edward had a witenagemot in London at mid-lent and appointed Robert archbishop to Canterbury and abbot Sparrowhawk to London; and gave to bishop Rodulf, his kinsman, the abbacy in Abingdon. And in the same year he paid off all the sailors.

1051 (= 1050) [D]. In this year died Eadsige archbishop in Canterbury; and the king gave the archbishopric to Robert the Frenchman, who before was bishop in London. And Sparrowhawk, abbot of Abingdon, succeeded to the bishopric in London; and it was afterwards taken from him before he was consecrated. And bishop Hereman and bishop Ealdred fared to Rome.

1050 [A].¹ Here died archbishop Eadsige, and Robert succeeded to the archbishopric.

1051 [C]. Here in this year came archbishop Robert hither over sea with his pall. And in this same year were banished earl Godwin and all his sons from England; and he went to Bruges and his wife and three of his sons, Swegen and Tostig and Gyrth; and Harold and Leofwin went to Ireland and abode there through the winter. And in this same year died the old lady, mother of king Edward and of Hardaknut, named Emma,² on ii id. Mar. (March 14th) and her body lies in the Old Minster with king Knut.

1048 (= 1051) [E]. Here in this year king Edward appointed Robert, in London, archbishop to Canterbury in the spring. And the same spring he fared to Rome after his pall; and the king gave the bishopric in London to Sparrowhawk, abbot of Abingdon; and the king gave the abbacy to bishop Rodulf, his kinsman. Then came the archbishop from Rome one day before the eve of St. Peter's-mass and occupied his archiepiscopal chair at Christ-Church on St. Peter's

¹ Hic Eaduardus rex dedit Rodberto, qui fuit abbas Gemetice, archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ.—F Lat.

² Written on erasure.

mass day (June 29th) and soon after went to the king. Then came abbot Sparrowhawk to him on the way with the king's writ and seal in order that he should consecrate him bishop to London. Then the archbishop refused and said that the pope had forbidden it him. Then the abbot went to the archbishop again for that purpose and there desired episcopal ordination; and the archbishop constantly denied him and said that the pope had forbidden it him. Then went the abbot to London and occupied the bishopric, which before the king had granted him, with his full leave all the summer and autumn.

And then came Eustace from beyond sea soon after the bishop and went to the king and spoke with him what he would at the time and then turned homeward. When he came east to Canterbury, he and his men took a meal there and wended to Dover. When he was some mile or more on this side of Dover, then he put on his byrny and all his companions [did the like], and they fared to Dover. When they came thither, then would they lodge themselves where it pleased them. Then came one of his men and would put up in the house of a householder against his will and wounded the householder, and the householder slew the other. Then Eustace got upon his horse, and his companions upon theirs, and they fared to the householder, and slew him within his own hearth, and then turned up towards the town and slew, both within and without, more than twenty men.¹ And the townsmen slew nineteen men on the other side and wounded they knew not how many. And Eustace escaped with a few men and wended back again to the king and

¹ When he had spoken what he would, then turned he back again. When his men came to Dover, a man of his would take up his quarters at a man's [house] against his will so that he wounded the householder, and the householder slew the man. Then was Eustace very wroth and got upon his horse, and his men [did the like] and fared thereto and slew the aforesaid householder and also more than twenty men besides him.—F. per superbiam uoluit in accipere hospitium et uulnerauit dominum domus, etc.—F Lat.

made known to him partially how they had fared.¹ And the king became very wroth with the townsmen. And the king summoned earl Godwin and bade him fare into Kent with unpeace to Dover; for Eustace had declared to the king that it had been more the guilt of the townfolk than his; but it was not so. And the earl would not agree to the inroad because he was loth to injure the district of his own people.² Then the king sent after all his witan and bade them come to Gloucester nigh the second mass of St. Mary (Sept. 8th). Then had the foreign men erected a castle in Herefordshire in earl Swegen's territory and wrought every kind of harm and insult to the king's men thereabout which they might. Then came earl Godwin and earl Swegen and earl Harold together at Beverstone, and many men with them, with the purpose to go to their royal lord and to all the witan, who were assembled with him, in order that they might have the advice of the king and his aid and of all the witan how they might avenge the insult to the king and the whole nation. Then were the foreign men³ beforehand with the king and accused the earls so that they might not come within his eyes' sight;⁴ for they said that they would be coming thither in order to betray the king. There was come to the king earl Siward and earl Leofric and much folk with them from the north; and it was made known to the earl Godwin and his sons that the king and the men, who were with him, were taking measures against them; and they arrayed themselves firmly to meet them though they were loth to stand against their royal lord. Then the witan decreed that on either side every kind of

¹ Said to the king worse than it was.—F. *aliter multo quam acta sit.*—F Lat.

² *Praecepit . . . ut congregaret exercitum et intraret Cantiam, omnia deuastando, et maxime Dofras (on margin: al. ut deuastaret Dofras). Sed Godwinus nolens destruere comitatum suum, dissimulauit ire illuc.*—F Lat.

³ *Quidam de Normannis.*—F Lat.

⁴ Nigh the king.—F. *ita ut rex interdiceret eis presentiam suam.*—F Lat.

evil should cease; and the king¹ gave God's peace and full protection to either side.

Then the king and his witan decreed² that a meeting³ of all the witan should be held for the second time in London at the autumnal equinox. Then the king ordered a host to be called out, both to the south of the Thames and to the north—all that ever was best. Then was earl Swegen declared an outlaw, and earl Godwin and earl Harold were summoned⁴ to the (witena-) gemot as speedily as they might effect it. When they had come thither, then they were summoned to the (witena-) gemot. Then he desired a safe-conduct and hostages so that unharmed he might come into the meeting and out of the meeting. Then the king desired all the thegns whom before the earls had; and they let them all into his hands. Then the king sent again to them and bade them come with twelve men into the king's council.⁵ Then the earl again desired a safe-conduct and hostages so that he would be able to clear himself of each of those things with which he was charged. Then the hostages were denied him, and he was granted five nights' grace to fare out of the land. And then wended earl Godwin and earl Swegen to Bosham and pushed out their ships and betook themselves beyond sea and sought Baldwin's protection⁶ and abode there all the winter. And earl Harold wended west to Ireland and was there all the winter in the king's protection. And soon after this was, the king forsook the lady, who was consecrated his queen, and caused to be taken from her all that she possessed in land and in gold and in silver and in all things, and committed her to his sister at Wherwell.

And abbot Sparrowhawk was then driven out of the bishopric in London; and William the king's priest

¹ The king gave to the earl his full friendship.—F.

² Promised.—F.

³ Gemot in A.-S.

⁴ Bidden.—F.

⁵ To the king.—F.

⁶ Then he was denied and ordered to clear out within five nights; and he fared over sea to Baldwin's land.—F.

was consecrated thereto. And then Odda was placed as earl over Devonshire and over Somerset and over Dorset and over the Welsh; and to Ælfgar, earl Leofric's son, was given the earldom which before Harold had possessed.

1052 (= 1051) [D]. Here died Ælfric archbishop in York, a very reverend man and wise. And in the same year king Edward abolished the geld, which before king Æthelred imposed: and that was in the nine and thirtieth year after he had begun it. The geld distressed the whole English people during so long a space as is here above written; that was ever before other gelds which were variously paid, and men were exceedingly distressed with it.

In the same year came to land at Dover Eustace who had king Edward's sister to wife. Then his men fared foolishly after quarters, and a certain man of the town they slew; and another man of the town [did the like to] a companion of theirs, so that there lay seven of his companions. And much harm was done there on either side with horse and also with weapons until the folk gathered together; and then they fled away until they came to the king at Gloucester; and he gave them protection. When earl Godwin understood that such things should have happened in his earldom, he began to gather folk over all his earldom, and earl Swegen his son over his, and Harold his other son over his earldom; and together they assembled at Langtree in Gloucestershire a great and countless force, all ready for battle against the king, unless Eustace were given up and his men delivered into their hands and also the Frenchmen who were in the castle. This was done seven nights before the latter mass of St. Mary (Sept. 1st). Then was king Edward sitting at Gloucester. Then he sent after earl Leofric and north after earl Siward and prayed for their forces. And they came to him, first with a moderate aid; but after they knew how it was to the south there, they sent north over all their earldom and let summon a large fyrd for the help of their lord; and

Ralf also over his earldom; and then all came to Gloucester to the help of the king, though it might be late. Then all were in such agreement with the king that they wished to seek out Godwin's fyrd if the king willed it. Then thought some of them that it were great folly that they should join battle together; because there was most of what was noblest in England in the two armies, and they thought that they were making room for our foes in the land and for great ruin betwixt ourselves. They counselled that hostages should be given mutually, and they appointed a summons away at London, and thither the folks were ordered out over all this northern district, in Siward's earldom and in Leofric's and also elsewhere, and earl Godwin and his sons were to come there for their defence. Then came they to Southwark, and a great band with them from Wessex; but his troops ever diminished the longer the more. And they bound by pledges to the king all the thegns who were of earl Harold his son; and then earl Swegen, his other son, was outlawed. Then it did not suit him to come for his defence to the king and the host which was with him. Then he fared away by night, and the king on the morrow held a witenagemot, and [he] and the whole host declared him an outlaw, him and all his sons. And he wended south to Thorney, and his wife, and Swegen his son, and Tostig and his wife, kinswoman of Baldwin at Bruges, and Gyrth his son; and earl Harold and Leofwin fared to Bristol to the ship which before earl Swegen had prepared and provisioned for himself. And the king sent bishop Ealdred from London with a body of men; and they were to overtake him ere he came on ship-board, but they could not or they would not. And he wended out from the mouth of the Avon and met with such stiff weather that he with difficulty got away; and there he sustained great damage. Then he wended forth to Ireland when [good] weather came. And Godwin and those who were with him wended from Thorney to Bruges, to Baldwin's land, in one ship, with as much treasure as

they might best stow therein for each man. It would have seemed wondrous to every man who was in England, if anyone before had said that it would so happen; for he had erewhile been exalted to that degree as if he ruled the king and all England; and his sons were earls and the king's darlings, and his daughter wedded and married to the king; she was brought to Wherwell and committed to the charge of the abbess.

Then soon came earl William from beyond sea with a great troop of Frenchmen; and the king received him and as many of his companions as it pleased him and let him away again. This same year was given to William priest the bishopric in London, which before had been given to Sparrowhawk.

1052 [D]. Here died Ælfgifu the lady, widow of king Æthelred and of king Knut, on ii nones Mar. (March 6th).

In the same year Griffin the Welsh king harried in Herefordshire until he came very nigh to Leominster; and men gathered against him, both the men of the land and Frenchmen from the castle, and there were slain very many good men of the English and also of the Frenchmen. It was on the same day, thirteen years ago, that Edwin with his companions was slain.

And straightway came earl Harold from Ireland . . .

[Henceforth the account is the same as that given by MS. C below save for a few verbal omissions and alterations.]

1052 [C]. Here earl Harold came from Ireland with his ships to the mouth of the Severn, nigh the boundary of Somerset and Devonshire, and there harried greatly; and the land-folk gathered together against him both from Somerset and from Devonshire; and he put them to flight and slew there more than thirty good thegns besides other folk; and soon after that he fared about Penwithstert. And then king Edward caused forty small ships to be fitted out—which lay at Sandwich many weeks. They were to look out¹ for earl Godwin,

¹ Lie in wait for.—MS. D.

who was at Bruges during the winter; and, notwithstanding, he came hither to land first so that they knew it not. And in the time that he was here in the land, he enticed to him all the men of Kent and all the butse-carls from Hastings and everywhere about the sea-coast and all the East district¹ and Sussex and Surrey and many else in addition thereto. Then all declared that they would live and die with him. When the fleet, which lay at Sandwich, learned about Godwin's faring, they set out after him. And he escaped them and protected himself wherever he then might, and the fleet went back to Sandwich and so homeward to London. When Godwin learnt that the fleet which lay at Sandwich was gone home, he fared once again to the Isle of Wight and lay thereabout by the sea-coast so long as until they came together, earl Harold his son and he. . . . And they did not much harm after they came together² save that they seized provisions, but they enticed to them all the land folk by the sea-coast and also those inland; and they fared towards Sandwich and ever collected with them all the butse-carls, with whom they met, and then came to Sandwich with an overflowing host. When king Edward learnt that, he sent inland after more help; but they came very late. And Godwin ever kept moving towards London with his fleet until he came to Southwark, and there waited some while until the tide came up. In that time also he treated with the townsmen so that nearly all of them would what he would. When he had settled all his expedition, then came the tide, and they forthwith drew up their anchors and held their way through the bridge along the southern bank, and the land-fyrd came from above and arranged themselves along the strand; and then they inclined with the ships towards the northern bank as if they would hem in the king's ships. The king also had a great land-fyrd on his side, in addition to his shipmen: but

¹ D omits a few letters here and in consequence writes Essex instead of East [district and Sus]sex—a mistake.

² Would not do much harm after that.—D.

almost all of them were loth to fight against men of their own race, for on either side was little else, which was of much account, save Englishmen; and moreover they were unwilling that this land should be the more exposed to outlandish men by reason that they destroyed themselves, each the other. Then they decreed that wise men should be sent between them, and they appointed a truce on either side. And Godwin landed and Harold his son and of their fleet as many as seemed good to them. Then was a witenagemot; and his earldom was given wholly to Godwin, as fully and as continuously as before he possessed it, and to his sons also all whatsoever before they possessed, and to his wife and his daughter as fully and as continuously as before they possessed. And then they established full friendship between them, and to all the folk they promised good law. And they outlawed all the Frenchmen who before had promulgated bad law and issued unjust dooms and given ill counsel in this land; save so many as they agreed upon, whom the king liked to have with him and who were true to him and all his folk. And bishop Robert and bishop William and bishop Ulf with difficulty escaped with the Frenchmen, who were with them, and thus got over sea.¹ And earl Godwin and Harold and the queen took possession of their properties. Swegen had fared before this to Jerusalem from Bruges; and he died on his way homeward at Constantinople at Michaelmas. It was on the Monday after St. Mary's mass (Sept. 14th) that Godwin with his ships arrived at Southwark; and the morning after, on the Tuesday, they were reconciled, as it stands here-before. Godwin sickened soon after he landed, afterwards recovered; but he did all too little amends for the property of God which he had from many holy places. In the same year came the strong wind on Thomas' mass-night (Dec. 21st), and everywhere did much harm. Also, Rhys the Welsh king's brother was slain.

¹ Here ends this account in MS. D.

1052 [E]. Here in this year died Ælfgifu Emma, mother of king Edward and king Hardaknut. And in this same year the king and his witan decreed that ships should proceed to Sandwich, and they set earl Ralf and earl Odda as captains thereto. Then earl Godwin went to sea from Bruges with his ships to the Yser and left it one day before Midsummer's mass-eve so that he came to Dungeness, which is to the south of Romney. Then it came to the knowledge of the earls away at Sandwich, and they went to sea after the other ships; and a land-fyrd was ordered out against the ships. During this, earl Godwin was warned and he betook himself to Pevensey; and the weather was very severe so that the earls might not learn how earl Godwin had fared. And then earl Godwin went to sea again until he came once more to Bruges; and the other ships turned back to Sandwich. And then it was resolved that the ships should return once again to London; and other earls and rowers were to be appointed to the ships. Then was it delayed so long that the ship-fyrd was all abandoned, and all of them went home. When earl Godwin learnt that, he hoisted his sail, and his fleet [did likewise] and went west straight to the Isle of Wight and landed there and harried so long until the folk paid as much as they laid upon them. And then they wended westwards until they came to Portland, and there they landed and did whatsoever harm they might do.

At that time Harold had departed from Ireland with nine ships; and he arrived at Porlock and there much folk were gathered against him; but he shrank not from procuring himself food. He advanced inland and slew there a great deal of the folk and took in cattle and in men and in property as it seemed good to him. Then he wended eastward to his father; and they both wended eastward until they came to the Isle of Wight, and they took there what before had been left behind them. And they wended thence to Pevensey and took with them as many ships as were there seaworthy, and so onwards until he came to Dungeness

and took all the ships which were in Romney and in Hythe and in Folkestone. Then they wended east to Dover and landed there and took to them ships and hostages as many as they would, and so fared to Sandwich and did just the same; and everywhere hostages were given them and provisions wherever they desired. And then they wended to the Northern mouth [of the Kentish Stour] and so towards London. And some ships turned within Sheppey and did there much harm and wended to King's Milton; and they burned all that and betook themselves then towards London after the earls. When they came to London, there lay the king and all the earls with fifty ships to meet them. Then the earls sent to the king and desired of him that they might be [held] worthy of each of those things which had been unjustly taken from them. But the king refused for some while; so long as until the folk, who were with the earl, became very excited against the king and against his folk so that the earl himself quieted the folk with difficulty. Then bishop Stigand intervened with God's help and the wise men both within the town and without; and they decreed that hostages should be arranged on either side; and so it was done. When archbishop Robert and the Frenchmen learnt that, they took their horses and some wended west to Pentecost's castle, others north to Robert's castle. And archbishop Robert and bishop Ulf went to sea at the East-gate [of London] and their companions, and slew and otherwise injured many young men, and wended straight to Eadulf's-ness, and there he put himself in a crazy ship and fared straight over sea and forsook his pall and all Christendom here in the land, even as God willed it—when he beforehand obtained the dignity even as God willed it not. Then a great gemot was summoned outside London; and all the earls and the best men, who were in this land, were in that gemot.

There Godwin bore forth his defence and justified himself towards king Edward his lord and towards

all the people of the land that he was guiltless of that was laid against him and against Harold his son and all his children. And the king gave to the earl and his children his full friendship and full earldom and all that before he had possessed and to all the men who were with him. And the king gave to the lady all that before she had possessed. And archbishop Robert was declared wholly an outlaw, and all the Frenchmen, because they had made most of the discord between earl Godwin and the king. And bishop Stigand succeeded to the archbishopric in Canterbury. And in this same time Arnwi, abbot of Peterborough, left the abbacy in sound health and gave it to Leofric monk by leave of the king and of the monks; and the abbot Arnwi lived afterwards eight winters. And the abbot Leofric endowed the monastery with goods so that it was called the golden-borough. Then it waxed greatly in land and in gold and in silver.

1051 (= 1052) [F]. Here died Ælfgyfu Emma, mother of the king Edward. And earl Godwin fared out from Bruges with his ships to the Yser and so to England, and arrived at Dungeness to the South of Romney and so fared to the Isle of Wight, and took there all the ships, which might be of some account, and hostages and so turned him eastward. And Harold was come with nine ships inland at Porlock and slew there much folk and took cattle and men and property and wended eastward to his father. And they both fared to Romney, to Hythe, to Folkestone, to Dover, to Sandwich; and ever they took all the ships, which they found and which might be of some account, and hostages—all as they fared; and wended then to London. When they came to London, there lay the king and all his earls with fifty ships to meet them. Then sent the earls to the king and desired that they might be [held] worthy of their possessions and property which had been taken unjustly from them. Then the king refused some while; but Stigand (who was the king's counsellor and chaplain) and the other wise men . . . and they decreed that hostages should

be arranged on either side (and thus should the friendship be confirmed). When archbishop Robert learnt that, he took his horse and fared to Eadulf'sness and put himself into one crazy ship and fared straight over sea and forsook his pall. Then was a great gemot summoned outside London; and in that gemot were the best men who were in this land. There Godwin bore forth his defence and justified himself towards king Edward concerning all the things which were laid on him and his children. And archbishop Robert was declared an outlaw, and all the Frenchmen, because they were the occasion of the wrath which was between him and the king. And bishop Stigand succeeded to the archbishopric in Canterbury.

1053 [E]. Here in this year earl Godwin died¹ on xvii kal. May (April 15th) and he is buried at Winchester in the Old Minster; and earl Harold his son succeeded to the earldom and to all that his father possessed; and earl Ælfgar succeeded to the earldom which Harold before possessed.

1053 [C]. In this year was the king in Winchester at Easter (April 11th) and earl Godwin with him and earl Harold his son and Tostig. Then on the second day of Easter he sat with the king at a meal, when suddenly he sank down near the footstool, deprived of speech and of all his might; and he was carried into the king's chamber and they thought it would pass over. But it was not so; and he continued so, speechless and mightless, until the Thursday and then gave up his life; and he lies there within the Old Minster. And his son Harold succeeded to his earldom and resigned that which he before held, and Ælfgar succeeded thereto.

This same year died Wulfsig, bishop in Lichfield, and Leofwin, abbot in Coventry, succeeded to the bishopric; and Ægelward, abbot in Glastonbury, died and Godwin, abbot in Winchcombe.

¹ Here was earl Godwin dead.—F.

Moreover the Welshmen slew a great deal of English folk, of the [frontier-] guards, near Westbury.

In this year there was no archbishop in this land; but bishop Stigand held the bishopric in Canterbury at Christ-Church, and Cynesige in York, and Leofwin and Wulfwig fared over sea and let themselves be consecrated bishops there. This Wulfwig succeeded to the bishopric which Ulf had, he still living and driven away.

1053 [D]. Here was the great wind on Thomas's mass-night (Dec. 21st); and the whole midwinter too was there much wind. And it was decreed that Rhys, the Welsh king's brother, should be slain because he had done harm; and his head was brought to Gloucester on Twelfth-day eve. And the same year before All Hallows' mass (Nov. 1st) died Wulfsig, bishop at Lichfield, and Godwin, abbot in Winchcombe, and Ægelward, abbot in Glastonbury—all within one month; and Leofwin succeeded to the bishopric at Lichfield, and bishop Ealdred succeeded to the abbacy in Winchcombe, and Ægelnoth succeeded to the abbacy in Glastonbury. And the same year died Ælfric, Odda's brother, at Deerhurst; and his body rests in Pershore. And the same year died earl Godwin, and he fell ill where he sat with the king in Winchester. And Harold his son succeeded to the earldom, which before his father held; and earl Ælfgar succeeded to the earldom which before Harold held.

1054 [C]. Here earl Siward fared with a great host into Scotland and made much slaughter of the Scots and put them to flight, and the king escaped. Moreover many fell on his side both Danish and English and also his own son. The same year was consecrated the church at Evesham on vi Ides October (Oct. 10th). In the same year bishop Ealdred fared south over sea into Saxony and was received there with great reverence. That same year died Osgod Clapa suddenly even as he lay on his bed.

1054 [E]. Bellum apud Mare Mortuum. Here in this year died Leo the holy pope in Rome. And in this

year was such a great murrain among cattle as no man remembered for many years before. And Victor was chosen pope.

1054 [D]. Here earl Siward fared with a great host into Scotland, both with a fleet and with a land-fyrd, and fought against the Scots and put to flight the king Macbeth and slew all, that was best there in the land, and led thence much booty such as no man before had obtained. But his son Osbeorn and his sister's son Siward and some of his huscarls and also of the king's were slain there on the day of the Seven Sleepers (July 27th). The same year fared bishop Ealdred to Cologne over sea on the king's errand; and there he was received with great honour by the emperor and there he dwelt well-nigh a year; and either gave him entertainment, both the bishop in Cologne and the emperor. And he allowed bishop Leofwin to consecrate the church at Evesham on vi id. Oct. (October 10th). In this year died Osgod suddenly on his bed. And here died pope St. Leo; and Victor was chosen pope in his stead.

[1055 [C].] In this year died earl Siward at York and his body lies within the church at Galmanho, which himself had before built to the glory of God and of all His Saints. Thereafter, within a little time, was a witena-gemot in London, and earl Ælfgar, son of earl Leofric, was outlawed without any kind of guilt; and he went to Ireland and there procured him a fleet, which was of eighteen ships, besides his own; and then he went to Wales, to king Griffin, with that force; and he received him into his protection. And then with the Irishmen and the Welsh race they gathered a great fyrd, and earl Ralf gathered a great fyrd to meet them at Hereford-port. And they sought them there; but before any spear was shot, the English folk fled because they were on horses; and there great slaughter was made, about four or five hundred men; and on the other side not one. And then they betook themselves to the town and burnt that; and the great church, which Æthelstan the

venerable bishop before caused to be built, they plundered and despoiled of relics and of vestments and of all things; and slew the folk and some they led away. Then a fyrd was gathered well nigh throughout all England, and they came to Gloucester and so wended a little way out into Wales; and there they lay some while; and earl Harold caused the ditch to be dug about the town the while. Then during this they spoke for a peace, and earl Harold and those, who were with him, came to Billingsley; and there peace and friendship was established between them. And earl Ælfgar was inlawed, and to him was given all that before had been taken from him, and the fleet went to Chester and there awaited their pay which Ælfgar had promised them. This man-slaying was on ix kal. November (Oct. 24th). In the same year died Tremerig the Welsh bishop soon after that harrying; he was bishop Æthelstan's coadjutor after he became disabled.

1055 [D]. In this year died earl Siward at York and he lies at Galmanho in the church, which himself caused to be built and consecrated in the name of God and Olaf. And Tostig succeeded to the earldom which he had held. And archbishop Cynesige fetched his pall from pope Victor. And soon thereafter earl Ælfgar, son of earl Leofric, was outlawed almost without guilt. But he went to Ireland and to Wales and procured him there a great band of men and so fared to Hereford; but earl Ralf with a large host came against him there. And with little trouble he put them to flight and slew much folk in the flight; and then they entered Hereford-port and harried that and burnt the famous church, which bishop Æthelstan had built, and slew the priests within the church and many in addition thereto; and they took all the treasures therein and carried them away with them. And when they had done the most evil, the counsel was put forward that earl Ælfgar be inlawed and his earldom be given him and all that had been taken from him. This harrying happened on ix kal. Nov.

(Oct. 24th). In the same year died Tremerin the Welsh bishop soon after the harrying; and he was bishop Æthelstan's coadjutor after he became disabled.

1055 [E]. Here in this year died earl Siward; and then was summoned a full witenagemot seven nights before mid-Lent. And earl Ælfgar was outlawed because it was charged against him that he was a traitor to the king and the whole people of the land. And he confessed it before all the men, who were gathered there; though the word escaped him unwillingly.

And the king gave to Tostig, son of earl Godwin, the earldom which before earl Siward possessed. And earl Ælfgar sought Griffin's protection in North-Wales. And in this year Griffin and Ælfgar burnt St. Æthelbert's church and the whole town of Hereford.

1056 [D]. Here bishop Ægelric gave up his bishopric at Durham and fared to St. Peter's monastery at Peterborough; and his brother Ægelwin succeeded thereto. And here also died bishop Æthelstan on iv id. Feb. (Feb. 10th) and his body lies in Hereford; and Leofgar was appointed bishop; he was earl Harold's mass-priest. And in his priesthood he had his moustaches until he was a bishop. He forsook his chrism and his rood and his spiritual weapons, and took to his spear and his sword, and so fared a-warring against Griffin the Welsh king; and there he was slain and his priests with him and Ælfnoth sheriff and many other good men. This was eight nights before midsummer. And bishop Ealdred succeeded to the bishopric, which Leofgar had eleven weeks and four days. This year died earl Odda and he lies in Pershore; he was ordained monk before his end—a good man and pure and very noble. And he departed on ii kal. Sept. (Aug. 31st). And Cona the emperor died.

[1056 [C].] Here died Æthelstan the venerable bishop on iv id. Feb., and his body lies in Hereford-port; and Leofgar was appointed bishop; he was earl Harold's

mass-priest; he kept his moustaches in his priesthood until he was a bishop. He forsook his chrism and his rood, his spiritual weapons, and took to his spear and his sword after his bishophood, and so fared a-warring against Griffin the Welsh king; and there he was slain and his priests with him and Ælfnoth sheriff and many good men with them; and the others fled away. Difficult it is to describe the oppression and all the faring and the marching and the toil and fall of men and of horses also which the whole English host endured until earl Leofric came thither and earl Harold and bishop Ealdred and made a reconciliation therebetween so that Griffin swore oaths that he would be to king Edward a loyal underking and unbetraying. And bishop Ealdred succeeded to the bishopric which before Leofgar had held eleven weeks and four days. In the same year died Cona the emperor. This year died earl Odda, and his body lies in Pershore; and he was ordained monk before his end. He died on ii kal. Sept.¹

1056 [E]. Hic Henricus Romanorum imperator obiit; cui successit filius eius Henricus.

1057 [E.] Here in this year Edward atheling, son of king Edmund, came hither to land and soon after died. And his body is buried within St. Paul's church in London. And pope Victor died and Stephen was chosen pope; he was abbot in Monte Cassino. And earl Leofric died and Ælfgar, his son, succeeded to the earldom which before his father had held.

1057 [D]. Here Edward atheling came to England; he was the son of king Edward's brother, Edmund king, who was called Ironside for his boldness.

This atheling king Knut had sent away into Hungary to be betrayed.

But he there throve into a good man, as God granted him, and him well became; so that he obtained the emperor's kinswoman to wife

¹ Here half a page is left blank in the MS.

and by the fair woman children he begot—
she was Agatha named.

We do not know for which cause
it was done —that he might not
see his kinsman Edward king.

Alas! that was rueful hap, and harmful
to all this people
that he so soon ended his life,
after he had come to England,
to the misfortune of this wretched people.

In the same year died earl Leofric on ii kal. Oct.
(Sept. 30th); he was very wise in ecclesiastical and
lay matters which profited all this nation. He lies at
Coventry and his son Ælfgar succeeded to his realm.
And in that year died earl Ralf on xii kal. Jan.
(Dec 21st) and lies in Peterborough. Moreover Heca,
bishop in Sussex, died and Ægelric was raised to his
see. And here pope Victor died and Stephen was
chosen pope.

1057 [E]. Here in this year Edward atheling, king
Edmund's son, came hither to land and soon after
died; and his body is buried within St. Paul's church
in London. And pope Victor died and Stephen was
chosen pope; he was abbot in Monte-Cassino. And
earl Leofric died, and Ælfgar his son succeeded to the
earldom which his father before held.

1058 [D]. Here earl Ælfgar was banished; but he soon
came in again, by force, through Griffin's help. And
here a fleet came from Norway; it is tedious to tell
everything—how it turned out. In the same year
bishop Ealdred consecrated the church in Gloucester,
which himself had raised to the glory of God and of
St. Peter; and so fared to Jerusalem with such honour
as none other did before him and there devoted him-
self to God; and also he offered a worthy gift to our
Lord's tomb; that was a golden chalice of five marks,
of very wonderful work. In the same year died pope
Stephen and Benedict was appointed pope; he sent a
pall to bishop Stigand. Ælgeric was consecrated bishop
to Sussex, and abbot Siward bishop to Rochester.

- 1058 [E]. Here died pope Stephen and Benedict was consecrated pope; the same sent hither to land a pall to archbishop Stigand. And in this year died Heca, bishop in Sussex. And archbishop Stigand consecrated Ægelric, monk in Christ-Church, bishop to Sussex; and abbot Siward, bishop to Rochester.
- 1059 [F]. Here died pope Stephen, and Benedict was blessed thereto; the same sent hither to land a pall to archbishop Stigand. And bishop Heca died, and archbishop Stigand consecrated Ægelric, in Christ-Church, bishop to Sussex; and abbot Siward, bishop to Rochester.¹
- 1059 [D]. Here in this year was Nicholas chosen pope, who before was bishop at the town of Florence; and Benedict was driven out, who before had been pope there. And in this year was the steeple consecrated at Peterborough on xvi kal. Nov. (Oct. 17th).
- 1059 [E]. Here in this year was Nicholas chosen pope, who was bishop at the town of Florence. And Benedict was driven out, who before had been pope.
- 1060 [D]. In this year there was a great earthquake on the Translation of St. Martin; and Henry the king died in France. And Cynesige, archbishop in York, departed on xi kal. Jan. (Dec. 22nd), and he lies at Peterborough; and bishop Ealdred succeeded to the archbishopric and Walter succeeded to the bishopric in Herefordshire; and bishop Duduc also died, who was bishop in Somerset; and Gisa priest was appointed in his stead.
- 1060 [E]. Hic Henricus rex Francorum obiit, cui successit Phylippus filius eius. In this year died Cynesige, archbishop in York, on xi kal. Jan. And bishop Ealdred succeeded thereto. And Walter succeeded to the bishopric in Hereford.
- 1061 [D]. Here bishop Ealdred fared to Rome after his pall, and he received it from the pope Nicholas. And the earl Tostig and his wife also fared to Rome; and the bishop and the earl met with a great mishap as they

¹ Here ends MS. F, much worn and effaced.

fared homeward. And here died Godwin, bishop at St. Martin's; and Wulfric, abbot at St. Augustin's, on xiv kal. April (Mar. 19th). And pope Nicholas died, and Alexander was chosen pope; he was bishop at Lucca.

1061 [E]. Here in this year died Duduc, bishop in Somerset, and Gisa succeeded him. And in the same year died Godwin, bishop at St. Martin's, on vii Ides March (Mar. 9th). And in the self-same year died Wulfric, abbot at St. Augustin's, within the Easter week on xiv kal. May (April 18th). When word came to the king that the abbot Wulfric was departed, then he chose thereto Æthelsige monk from the Old Mins-ter; he then followed archbishop Stigand and was con-secrated abbot at Windsor on St. Augustin's mass-day (May 26th).

1062 [E]. Hoc anno subiugata est Cynomannia comiti Normanniae Willelmo.

1063 [D]. In this year, after midwinter, earl Harold fared from Gloucester to Rhuddlan, which was Grif-fin's, and burned the homestead and his ships and all the arms which belonged thereto, and put him to flight. And then, at Rogation days, Harold fared with ships from Bristol about Wales; and the folk made peace and gave hostages; and Tostig fared with a land-fyrd against them; and they subdued the land. But here in this same year in the autumn king Griffin was slain on the nones of August (Aug. 5th) by his own men because of the strife that he waged with earl Harold. He was king over all the Welsh race; and his head was brought to earl Harold, and Harold brought it to the king and his ship's head and the "bone" therewith. And the king Edward entrusted the land to his two brothers, Blethgent and Rigwatte, and they swore oaths and gave hostages to the king and to the earl that they would be faithful to him in all things and be everywhere ready for him, on water and land, and make such payments from the land as before was done to any other king.

1063 [E]. Here earl Harold fared, and his brother earl

Tostig, both with a land-fyrd and a ship-host, into Wales; and they subdued the land; and the folk gave hostages to them and submitted; and fared afterwards and slew their king Griffin and brought to Harold his head; and he appointed another king thereto.

1065 [D]. Here in this year before Lammas (Aug. 1st) earl Harold ordered a building to be erected in Wales at Portskewet, after he had subdued it; and there gathered much property and thought to have king Edward there for the purpose of hunting. But when it was all ready, then fared Caradoc son of Griffin with the whole force which he might obtain and slew nearly all the folk who were building there; and they took the property which was prepared there. We know not who first devised this ill-counsel. This was done on St. Bartholomew's mass-day (Aug. 24th). And soon after this, all the thegns in Yorkshire and in Northumberland gathered together and outlawed their earl Tostig and slew his household men—all whom they might reach, both English and Danish; and took all his weapons in York and gold and silver and all his moneys, which they might anywhere hear of, and sent after Morcar, son of earl Ælfgar, and chose him for their earl; and he fared south with all the shire and with Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire and Lincolnshire until he came to Northampton; and his brother Edwin came to meet him with the men who were in his earldom, and also many Welsh came with him. There came earl Harold to meet them; and they charged him with a mission to the king Edward and also sent messengers with him and begged that they might have Morcar for their earl. And the king granted it and sent Harold again to them at Northampton on the eve of St. Simon's and St. Jude's mass (Oct. 27th); and he made known the same to them and pledged himself thereto; and there he renewed Knut's law. But the northern men did much harm about Northampton the while he fared on their mission, inasmuch as they slew men and burnt houses and corn and took all the cattle which they might reach, that

was many thousands; and many hundred men they took and led north with them so that the shire and the other shires, which are nigh there, were for many winters the worse. And earl Tostig and his wife and all those, who would what he would, fared south over sea with him to earl Baldwin, and he received them all; and they were there the whole winter. And king Edward came to Westminster at midwinter and there caused to be consecrated the minster which himself had built to the praise of God and of St. Peter and of all God's saints; and the church-hallowing was on Childermas-day (Dec. 28th). And he died on Twelfth-day eve and was buried on Twelfth-day in the same minster as it hereafter says:—

Here Edward king lord of the English
sent his soothfast soul to Christ,
his holy spirit into God's protection.

He in the world here dwelt awhile
in kingly majesty, mighty of counsels;
four and twenty winters numbered
the noble ruler wealth dispensed.

And a prosperous time, the warriors' ruler,
son of Æthelred, illustrious he governed
Welsh and Scots and Britons too
Angle and Saxon chieftains.
Like as embrace cold ocean-waves,
so all to Edward noble king
give loyal obedience, the young warriors.
Aye was blithe-minded the baleless king
though he long erst was of land bereft,
in exile dwelt wide o'er the earth,
since Knut overcame Æthelred's kin
and the Danes wielded the dear realm
of the English land, dispensed wealth
eight and twenty winters numbered.

Then came forth, nobly robed,
a king good in virtues, clean and mild,
Edward the noble ward the land,
country and people, until of a sudden
came death the bitter and took a so dear one,

the noble from earth; angels carried
the soothfast soul into heaven's light.

Nonetheless the wise one entrusted the realm
to a highly-born man, Harold's self,
noble earl: he in all time
loyally obeyed his over-lord
in word and deed, neglected naught
that was needful to the sovereign-king.

And here also was Harold consecrated king and he
met with little quiet therein, the while he ruled the
kingdom.

1065 [c]. Here in this year, before Lammas, earl Harold
ordered a building to be erected in Wales at Port-
skewet, after he had subdued it; and there gathered
much property and thought to have the king Edward
there for the purpose of hunting. And when almost
everything was prepared, then Caradoc, son of Grif-
fin, fared with all those whom he might obtain and
slew almost all the folk who were building there and
took the property which was gathered there. And
this man-slaying was on St. Bartholomew's mass-day;
and then after Michaelmas all the thegns in Yorkshire
fared to York and there slew earl Tostig's house-
carls, all whom they might hear of, and seized his
treasures. And at the time Tostig was with the king at
Britford. And very soon thereafter was a great coun-
cil at Northampton, and then at Oxford on the day of
Simon and Jude. And earl Harold was there, and
would work their reconciliation if he might; but he
might not. For all his earldom unanimously forsook
and outlawed him and all who with him upheld evil
law, because formerly he despoiled God and stript all
of life and land over whom he had rule. And then
they took Morcar for their earl, and Tostig fared over
sea, and his wife with him, to Baldwin's land, and took
up winter-quarters at St. Omer. [*Henceforth C's ac-
count is identical with MS. D to the end.*]¹

¹ MS. E puts the northern rising under the year 1064 begin-
ning:—Here in this year fared the Northumbrians together and
outlawed their earl Tostig. It continues the account with the same

1066 [D]. In this year king Harold came from York to Westminster at that Easter which was after the mid-winter in which the king died; and Easter was then on the day xvi kal. May (April 16th). Then was seen throughout all England such a token in the heavens as no man ever before saw. Some men said that it was the comet star which others call the hairy star; and it appeared first on the eve Litanía Major viii kal. May (April 24th) and so shone all the seven nights. And soon after earl Tostig came from beyond sea unto the Isle of Wight with as great a fleet as he might obtain; and there they paid him both money and food. And king Harold, his brother, gathered so great a ship-host and also a land-host as no king here in the land had done before—because it was made known to him that William bastard would hither and win this land; all as it afterwards happened. And the while came earl Tostig into the Humber with sixty ships; and earl Edwin came with a land-fyrd and drove him out. And the butse-carls forsook him, and he fared to Scotland with twelve small vessels. And there met him Harold king of Norway with three hundred ships, and Tostig submitted to him and became his man. And then they fared both into the Humber until they came to York; and there earl Edwin and earl Morcar fought against them, but the Northmen got the victory. Then was it made known to Harold king of the English that thus it had fared with them: and this battle was on the vigil of St. Matthew (Sept. 20th). Then came Harold our king unawares on the Northmen and fell in with them beyond York at Stamford bridge with a great host of English folk; and there during the day was very severe fighting on both sides. There was slain Harold Harfagr¹ and earl Tostig, and the Northmen who were there remaining were put to flight; and the English from

words as MS. D, ending with—and they were there all the winter.

¹ This mistake of Harfagr for Hardrada runs through nearly all the authorities, native and foreign.—Plummer.

behind hotly smote them until of them all some got to their ships, some were drowned and some also burnt: and thus in divers ways they perished so that few were left: and the English had possession of the place of slaughter. The king gave his protection to Olaf, son of the king of the Northmen, and to their bishop and to the earl of Orkney and to all those who were left in the ships; and then they went ashore to our king and swore oaths that ever they would hold peace and friendship towards this land; and the king let them go home with twenty-four ships. These two folk-fights were fought within five nights.

Then came William earl of Normandy into Pevensey on the eve of St. Michael's mass (Sept. 28th); and directly they were ready, they erected a castle at Hastings-port. This was made known to king Harold, and he gathered a great host and came to meet him at the hoar apple-tree; and William came against him unawares before his folk were collected. But the king nevertheless strenuously fought against him with those men who would follow him; and there was great slaughter made on each side. There was slain king Harold and earl Leofwin and earl Gyrth his brother and many good men; and the Frenchmen had possession of the place of slaughter—all as God granted to them for the folk's sins. Archbishop Ealdred and the townsmen in London would then have Edgar child for king—all as was his true natural right; and Edwin and Morcar promised him that they would fight with him. But ever as it should have been forwarder, so was it from day to day slacker and worse—all as it turned out in the end. This fight was done on the day of pope Calixtus. And earl William went back again to Hastings and there awaited whether people would submit to him. But when he perceived that they would not come to him, he fared inland with all his host—that which was left to him and that which afterwards came from over sea to him; and he harried the whole district which he overran until he came to Berkhamstead. And there came to meet him arch-

bishop Ealdred and Edgar child and earl Edwin and earl Morcar and all the chief men in London and then submitted from necessity—when most harm had been done; and it was very ill counsel that they did not do so before, since God would not amend it, for our sins. And they gave hostages and swore oaths to him; and he promised them that he would be a gracious lord to them; and nevertheless, during this, they harried all that they overran. Then on midwinter's day archbishop Ealdred consecrated him king at Westminster; and he pledged him upon Christ's book and also swore, before he would set the crown upon his head, that he would govern this nation as well as any king before him had best done—if they would be faithful to him. Nevertheless he laid a geld on the people, very heavy; and then fared in the spring over sea to Normandy and took with him archbishop Stigand and Ægelnoth, abbot in Glastonbury, and Edgar child and earl Edwin and earl Morcar and earl Waltheof and many other good men from England. And bishop Odo and earl William remained here behind and they erected castles wide throughout this nation and distressed poor folk; and ever after things grew much worse. May the end be [good]¹ when God will!

[1066 [c].] In this year king Harold came from York to Westminster, at that Easter which was after the midwinter in which the king died; and Easter was then on the day xvi kal. May (April 16th). Then was seen throughout all England such a token in the heavens as no man ever before saw. Some men said it was the comet star, which others call the hairy star; and it appeared first on the eve Litania Major viii kal. May (April 24th). And soon after earl Tostig came from beyond sea into the Isle of Wight with as great a fleet as he might obtain; and there they paid him both money and food. And he fared thence and did harm everywhere by the sea coast where he might, until he came to Sandwich. Then was it made known

¹ Interlined probably by a later hand.

to king Harold, who was in London, that Tostig his brother was come to Sandwich. Then he gathered so great a ship-fyrd and also a land-fyrd as no king here in the land had gathered before, because it had been said for a truth that earl William from Normandy, king Edward's kinsman, would come hither and conquer this land—all as it afterwards happened. When Tostig learned that king Harold was on his way towards Sandwich, then fared he from Sandwich and took some of the butse-carls with him, some willingly and some unwillingly; and wended north into [Humber]¹ and harried in Lindsey and slew many good men there. When earl Edwin and earl Morcar understood that, they came thither and drove him from the land. And then he fared to Scotland; and the king of Scots protected him and supported him with provisions; and there he dwelt the whole summer. Then came king Harold to Sandwich and awaited his fleet there because it was long before it might be gathered together. And when his fleet was gathered together, he fared into the Isle of Wight and lay there the whole summer and autumn; and a land-fyrd was kept everywhere by the sea though in the end it availed naught. When it was the Nativity of St. Mary (Sept. 8th), the men's provisions were gone and they might no longer be kept there. Then were the men allowed to go home and the king rode inland and the ships were taken to London; and many perished before they came thither. When the ships had reached home, then came Harold king of Norway north into Tyne unawares with a very large ship-host—and no small one; it might be [with three hundred ships]¹ or more. And earl Tostig came to him with all those whom he had got—everything as they had agreed on beforehand; and then both fared with the whole fleet inland along the Ouse towards York. Then was it made known to king Harold in the south, when he was come from aboard ship, that Harold king in Norway and earl

¹ A space left in the MS.

Tostig were landed near York. Then fared he northward, day and night, as speedily as he might gather his fyrd. But before the king Harold might come thither, earl Edwin and earl Morcar gathered from their earldom as great a force as they might get; and fought against the host [of the enemy] and made great slaughter; and there were many of the English folk slain and drowned and driven into flight; and the Northmen had possession of the place of slaughter. And this battle was on the vigil of St. Matthew the apostle (Sept. 20th); and it was Wednesday. And then after the battle Harold king of Norway and earl Tostig entered York with as much folk as seemed good to them. And hostages were given them from the city and provisions supplied; and so they fared thence aboard-ship and arranged a full peace—that they should all fare south with him and conquer this land. Then during this came Harold king of the English with his whole fyrd on the Sunday to Tadcaster and there assembled his fleet and fared on Monday right through York; and Harold king of Norway and earl Tostig and their forces were gone from the ships beyond York to Stamford bridge, because it had been promised for a certainty that there, from the whole shire, hostages should be brought to them. Then came Harold king of the English against them unawares, beyond the bridge, and there they joined battle and were fighting very strenuously long in the day; and there Harold king of Norway and earl Tostig were slain and an uncounted number of folk with them, both of Northmen and of English; and the Northmen fled from the English. Then was there one of the Norwegians who withstood the English folk—that they might not pass over the bridge nor obtain the victory. Then an Englishman shot with an arrow, but it availed naught; and then came another under the bridge and pierced him through in under the byrny. Then Harold king of the English came over the bridge and his fyrd onward with him and there made great slaughter, both of Norwegians

and Flemings. And Harold let the king's son, Hetmundus, fare home to Norway with all the ships.¹

1066 [A]. Here died king Edward, and earl Harold succeeded to the kingdom and held it forty weeks and one day. And here came William and won England. And here in this year Christ-Church was burnt. And here appeared a comet on xiv kal. May (April 8th).

1066 [B]. In this year was consecrated the minster at Westminster on Childermas-day (Dec. 28th). And the king Edward died on Twelfth-mass eve (Jan. 5th); and he was buried on Twelfth-day within the new consecrated church at Westminster. And earl Harold succeeded to the kingdom of England even as the king granted it to him and also men chose him thereto; and he was blessed as king on Twelfth-day. And the same year that he became king, he fared out with a ship-host against William; and the while came earl Tostig into Humber with sixty ships. Earl Edwin came with a land-fyrd and drove him out; and the butse-carls forsook him. And he fared to Scotland with twelve small vessels; and Harold the Norwegian king met him with three hundred ships, and Tostig submitted to him; and they both fared into Humber until they came to York. And earl Morcar and earl Edwin fought against them; and the Norwegian king had the victory. And it was made known to king Harold how there it was done and had happened; and he came with a great host of Englishmen and met him at Stamford-bridge and slew him and the earl Tostig and stoutly overcame the whole host. And the while earl William landed at Hastings on St. Michael's mass-day; and Harold came from the north and fought against him before his host had all arrived; and there he fell and his two brothers, Gyrth and Leofwin. And William conquered this land; and came to Westminster, and archbishop Ealdred consecrated

¹ End of MS. C. The last eight lines, beginning with "fled from the English," are in later Anglo-Saxon and presumably of less authenticity.

him king, and men paid him a geld and gave hostages and afterwards redeemed their lands.

And then was Leofric, abbot of Peterborough, in this same expedition; and there he grew sick and came home and was dead soon thereafter on All-Hallows' mass-night (Nov. 1st). God have mercy on his soul! In his day was all bliss and all good in Peterborough; and he was dear to all folk so that the king gave to St. Peter and him the abbacy in Burton-on-Trent and the one of Coventry which the earl Leofric, who was his uncle, had founded before, and the one of Croyland and the one of Thorney. And he gave so much in property to the monastery of Peterborough, in gold and in silver and in vestments and in land, as no other ever did before him and none after him. After, Golden Borough became Wretched Borough. Then the monks chose for abbot Brand provost because he was a very good man and very wise and sent him to Edgar atheling because the folk of the land supposed that he should become king; and the atheling granted it him blithely. When king William heard say that, he was very wroth and said that the abbot had put contempt on him. Then went good men between them and reconciled them, because the abbot was a good man. He gave the king forty marks of gold for a reconciliation; and he lived a little while thereafter—only three years. After that came every tribulation and every evil to the monastery. God be merciful to it!

1067 [D]. Here the king came back again to England on St. Nicholas' mass-day (Dec. 6th); and on that day Christ-Church in Canterbury was burnt. And bishop Wulfwig died and is buried at his episcopal see in Dorchester. And Eadric child and the Britons grew hostile and fought with the castle-men in Hereford and did them many harms. And here the king imposed a great geld on the poor folk and nonetheless ever let [his men] harry all the country that they traversed. And then he fared into Devonshire and besieged the borough of Exeter eighteen days. And there a

number of his host perished; but he promised well and performed ill; and they surrendered the town because the thegns had betrayed them.

And this summer Edgar child fared out with his mother Agatha and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina, and Mærleswegen and many good men with them and came to Scotland under the protection of king Malcolm; and he received them all. Then the king Malcolm began to yearn for Edgar's sister Margaret—to be his wife; but he and all his men long refused and she herself also declined—

And quoth that she would not have him or any one if the heavenly mercy would grant to her that she in maidenhood might please the mighty Lord, in pure continence with human heart in this short life.

The king eagerly urged her brother until he answered "yea"; and indeed he dared not otherwise because they were come into his power. Then it came to pass as God provided beforehand; and it might not be otherwise—just as He himself says in his Gospel that not even a sparrow may fall into a snare without His providence. The prescient Creator knew beforehand what he would have done by her, namely, that she should increase God's praise in the land and rescue the king from the path of error and cause him, together with his people, to submit to a better way and suppress the ill customs which the people formerly practised—all as she afterwards did. The king, therefore, received her, though it was against her will, and was pleased with her manners and thanked God, who by his power had given him such a mate, and wisely bethought him—he was a full prudent man—and turned himself to God and contemned every uncleanness: concerning which the apostle Paul, teacher of all nations, said—*Soluabitur uir infidelis per mulierem fidelem. Sic et mulier infidelis per uirum fidelem*, etc: that is in our tongue—full oft the unbelieving man is hallowed and healed through the righteous woman and, in like manner, the woman through the believing

man. Afterwards this aforesaid queen performed many useful deeds in the land to God's praise and throve well also in her royal estate, as was natural to her. Of a believing and noble kin was she sprung: her father was Edward atheling, son of king Edmund—Edmund was son of Æthelred, Æthelred son of Edgar, Edgar son of Eadred and so forth in the royal line—and her mother's kin goes to emperor Henry, who had rule over Rome.

And here Gytha, Harold's mother, fared out, and the wives of many good men with her, to Flatholme, and there dwelt some while and so fared thence over sea to St. Omer.

In this Easter came the king to Winchester; and then was Easter on x kal. April (Mar. 23rd). And soon after Matilda the lady came hither to land; and archbishop Ealdred consecrated her queen in Westminster on Whit-Sunday (May 11th). Then was it made known to the king that the folk in the north had gathered them together and would stand against him if he came. Thereupon he fared to Nottingham and erected there a castle, and so fared to York and erected there two castles, and [did the same] in Lincoln and everywhere in the country; and earl Gospatric and the best men fared into Scotland.

And during these events one of Harold's sons came from Ireland with a ship-host unawares into the Avonmouth and straightway harried over the whole district. Then they fared to Bristol and would storm the town, but the townsmen strenuously withstood them. And when they might win nought from the town, they fared aboard ship with all the booty that they had gained. And so they fared into Somerset and landed there; and Eadnoth staller fought against them and was there slain and many good men on either side; and those who were left fared away thence.

1067 [E]. Here the king fared over sea and had with him hostages and moneys; and returned in the next year on St. Nicholas' mass-day; and on that day was Christ-Church in Canterbury burnt. And when

he came back, he gave away every man's land. And this summer Edgar child fared out, and Mærleswegen and many men with them, and fared to Scotland, and the king Malcolm received them all and took the child's sister Margaret to wife.

1068 [D]. Here in this year king William gave to earl Robert the earldom over Northumberland; but the men of that land surrounded him in the town at Durham and slew him and nine hundred men with him. And soon thereafter Edgar atheling came with all the Northumbrians to York; and the townsmen made alliance with him. And king William came from the south unawares upon them with an overwhelming host and put them to flight and slew those who could not escape—they were many hundreds of men—and harried the town and put to shame St. Peter's monastery and also harried and outraged all the others. And the atheling fared back again to Scotland.

After this came Harold's sons from Ireland, in midsummer, with sixty-four ships into the Taw-mouth and unwarily landed there. And earl Breon came unawares against them with no little troops and fought against them and slew there all the best men that were in the fleet; and the others, in a small band, escaped to the ships. And Harold's sons fared back again to Ireland.

1068 [E]. Here in this year king William gave to earl Robert the earldom in Northumberland. Then came the men of that land against him, and slew him and nine hundred men with him. And Edgar atheling came with all the Northumbrians to York, and the port-men made alliance with him. And the king William came from the south with all his fyrd and harried the town and slew many hundreds of men. And the atheling fared again to Scotland.

[1069 [D].¹] Here died Ealdred archbishop in York, and he is buried there in his episcopal see. He died on the day

¹ The date is left out and there is no break in the MS.; but there can be little doubt that a new annal begins here.

of Protus and Hyacinthus (Sept. 11th); and he held the see with great honour ten years, wanting fifteen weeks.

Soon thereafter came from Denmark three sons of king Swegen with two hundred and forty ships into the Humber and earl Osbeorn and earl Thurkil; and Edgar child came to meet them, and earl Waltheof and Mærleswegen and earl Gospatric with the Northumbrians, and all the people of the land, riding and marching on foot with an immense host greatly rejoicing; and thus all unanimously fared to York and stormed and demolished the castle and won countless treasure therein and slew there many hundreds of Frenchmen and led many with them to the ships; but before the shipmen came thither, the French had burnt the town and even harried and burnt the holy monastery of St. Peter. When the king learnt this, he fared northward with all his fyrd that he might gather and completely harried and laid waste the shire. And the fleet lay the whole winter within the Humber, where the king might not come at them. And the king was in York on midwinter's day, and thus was in the land the whole winter, and on the same Easter came to Winchester. And bishop Ægelric, who was in Peterborough, was accused and led to Westminster; and his brother, bishop Ægelwin, was outlawed.

1069 [E]. Here the bishop Ægelric was accused in Peterborough and sent to Westminster; and his brother Ægelwin was outlawed. Then between the two masses of St. Mary (Aug. 15th—Sept. 8th) came from the east, from Denmark, with three hundred ships the sons of king Swegen and his brother, earl Osbeorn. And then the earl Waltheof fared out; and he and Edgar atheling and many hundred men with them came and met the fleet within the Humber, and fared to York and landed and won the castles and slew many hundreds of men and led much treasure aboard ship, and had the chief men in bonds and lay between the Ouse and the Trent the whole winter. And the king William fared into the shire and ruined

it all. And in this same year died Brand, abbot of Peterborough, on v kal. December (Nov. 27th).

1070 [A]. Here Lanfranc who was abbot in Caen came to England; after a few days he became archbishop in Canterbury. He was consecrated on iv kal. Sept (Aug. 29th) in his own episcopal see by eight bishops, his suffragans; the others, who were absent, showed by messengers and by letters why they might not be there. In this year Thomas, who was chosen bishop to York, came to Canterbury that he should be consecrated there after the old wont. When Lanfranc craved confirmation of his obedience by oath-swearing, he refused and said that he ought not to do it. Then the archbishop Lanfranc waxed wroth and bade the bishops, who were come there by the archbishop Lanfranc's command to assist at the service, and all the monks to unrobe themselves; and they did so by his command. So Thomas, at that time, fared back without the blessing. Then soon after this it happened that the archbishop Lanfranc fared to Rome; and Thomas went forth with him. When they came thither and had spoken about other things which they wished to speak about, then began Thomas his speech—how he came to Canterbury and how the archbishop asked obedience from him with oath-swearing and he refused it. Then began the archbishop Lanfranc to show with clear reasoning that with right he craved that which he craved, and with strong argument he proved the same before the pope Alexander and before all the council that was there gathered; and so they fared home. After this Thomas came to Canterbury and humbly performed all that the archbishop craved of him and afterwards received the blessing.¹

1070 [E]. Here the earl Waltheof made peace with the king. And in the following spring the king caused all the monasteries, which were in England, to be plundered. In the same year came king Swegen from

¹ Here ends the Anglo-Saxon text of MS. A. The history of Lanfranc is continued in Latin and closes with the consecration of Anselm, his successor (see Plummer, vol. i, Appendix B, v).

Denmark into the Humber; and the folk of that land came to meet him and made alliance with them, supposing that he would conquer the land. Then came into Ely Christien the Danish bishop and earl Osbeorn and the Danish housecarls with them; and the English folk from all the fen-lands came to them, supposing that they would win all the land. Then the monks of Peterborough heard say that their own men were wishing to plunder the monastery, namely, Hereward and his band, because they heard that the king had given the abbacy to a French abbot named Turolð and that he was a very stern man and was come into Stamford with all his Frenchmen. There was, at the time, a church-warden named Ywar: he took all that he could by night, gospels and mass-garments and copes and robes and such-like small things that he might [carry], and he came before day to the abbot Turolð and told him that he sought his protection and made known how the outlaws intended to come to Peterborough—which he did wholly by the monks' counsel. Then straightway in the morning all the outlaws came with many ships and would into the monastery, but the monks withstood them so that they might not come in. Then they took to fire, and burnt all the monks' houses and all in the town save one house; and they broke in through fire at Bolhithe-gate, and the monks came towards them and prayed for protection. But they recked of nothing, entered the monastery, climbed up to the holy rood, took the crown from our Lord's head—all of pure gold—took then the footrest which was underneath His feet: that was of red gold. They climbed up to the steeple, brought down the crozier which was hidden there: that was of gold and silver. They seized also two golden shrines and nine silver ones; and they seized fifteen great roods both of gold and of silver. They took there so much gold and silver and so much treasure in money and in robes and in books as no one may tell other, saying that they did this because of their loyalty to the monastery. Afterwards they betook them to their

ships and fared to Ely, where they secured all the treasures. The Danishmen believed that they would overcome the Frenchmen. They drove away all the monks; none remained there save one monk, who was called Leofwin, long; and he lay sick in the sick men's chamber. Then came abbot Turolde and eight times twenty Frenchmen with him, and all fully weaponed. When he came thither he found everything burnt, within and without, save the church alone. Then were the outlaws all afloat, knowing that he would thither. This was done on the day iv Nones June (June 2nd). Then the two kings William and Swegen came to an agreement; whereupon the Danishmen fared out from Ely, carrying with them all the aforesaid treasure. When they were come into the midst of the sea, a great storm arose and scattered all the ships in which were the treasures; some made their way to Norway, some to Ireland, others to Denmark; and all that reached the latter country were the crozier and some shrines and some roods and many of the other treasures, and they brought them to a king's town called . . .¹ and placed them all in the church. But one night afterwards through their carelessness and drunkenness the church was burnt and all that was therein. Thus was the monastery of Peterborough burnt and harried. May almighty God have pity on it in His great mercy! And thus the abbot Turolde came to Peterborough, and the monks returned thither and performed christian rites in the church which had stood a full week without service of any kind. When bishop Ægelric heard this, he excommunicated all the men who had done the evil deed. There was great famine this year; and this summer the fleet from the north came from the Humber into the Thames and lay there two nights and afterwards made its way to Denmark. And earl Baldwin died, and his son Arnulf succeeded to the realm; and earl William² was to be his protector and the king of the Franks also, but

¹ A space left for the name.

² *I.e.*, William Fitz-osbern.

earl Robert came and slew his kinsman Arnulf and the earl, and put the king to flight and slew many thousands of his men.

1071 [E]. Here earl Edwin and earl Morcar fled away and wandered in woods and fields. Then earl Morcar went to Ely in a ship; and earl Edwin was slain treacherously by his own men; and the bishop Ægelwin and Siward Bearn and many hundreds of men with them came into Ely. And when the king William heard this, he called out a ship-fyrd and a land-fyrd, and surrounded that land and erected a bridge and made an entrance therein; the ship-fyrd lying off the coast. Then all the outlaws submitted: these were bishop Ægelwin and earl Morcar and all who were with them—save Hereward alone and all those who would with him; and he boldly led them off. And the king seized ships and weapons and much money; and he disposed of the men as he would; and he sent the bishop Ægelwin to Abingdon, where he died early in the winter.

1071 (= 1070) [D]. Here the earl Waltheof made peace with the king, and in the following spring the king caused all the monasteries that were in England to be plundered. And this year was a great famine. And the monastery at Peterborough was harried, that is, by the men whom the bishop Ægelric had formerly excommunicated because they seized there all that he possessed. And in the same summer the fleet came into the Thames and lay there two nights and made its way afterwards to Denmark. And earl Baldwin died and Arnulf his son succeeded to the realm; and the king of the Franks and earl William were to be his protectors. But there came Robert and slew Arnulf his kinsman and the earl William, and put the king to flight and slew many thousands of his men.

1072 (= 1071) [D]. Here earl Edwin and earl Morcar fled away and wandered in woods and fields until Edwin was slain by his own men; and Morcar wended by ship to Ely, whither came bishop Ægelwin and Siward Bearn and many hundreds of men with them.

When the king William heard this, he called out a ship-fyrd and a land-fyrd, and beset that land all from the outside and erected a bridge; the ship-fyrd lying off the coast. And they all submitted to the king, that was, bishop Ægelwin and earl Morcar and all those who were with them—save Hereward alone and all those who might escape with him; and he boldly led them off. And the king seized their ships and arms and much money; and all the men he took and did with them what he would. And bishop Ægelwin he sent to Abingdon, where he died.

1072 [E]. Here king William led a ship-fyrd and a land-fyrd to Scotland, and blockaded the country with ships and crossed the Forth with his land-fyrd; but he found naught there for which he was the better. And the king Malcolm came and made peace with the king William and gave hostages and became his man; and the king turned home with all his fyrd. And the bishop Ægelric died. He was consecrated bishop to York, but it was unjustly taken from him; and the bishopric in Durham was given to him, and he held it the while that he would and afterwards resigned it and went to the monastery at Peterborough and there spent twelve years of monastic life. After king William won England, he took him from Peterborough and sent him to Westminster; and he died on the ides of October (Oct. 15th) and is buried there within the monastery in St. Nicholas' chapel.

1073 (= 1072) [D]. Here king William led a ship-fyrd and a land-fyrd to Scotland, and blockaded the country with ships and himself with his land-fyrd crossed the Forth; but he found there naught for which they were the better. And king Malcolm came and made peace with king William, and became his man and gave him hostages; and afterwards he turned home with all his fyrd. And the bishop Ægelric died. He was consecrated bishop to York, but it was unjustly taken from him; and the bishopric at Durham was given him, and he held it the while that he would and afterwards resigned it and went to the monastery at

Peterborough and there spent twelve years of monastic life. After William won England, he caused him to be taken from Peterborough and sent him to Westminster; and there he died on the ides of October and is buried there within St. Nicholas' chapel.

1073 [E]. In this year king William led an English and French host over sea and conquered the land of Maine; and the Englishmen did great damage thereto: they destroyed vineyards and burnt towns and laid waste the land, all of which submitted to William, and afterwards they returned home to England.¹

1075 (= 1074) [D]. In this year king William fared over sea to Normandy and Edgar child came into Scotland from Flemings' land on St. Grimbald's mass-day (July 8th). And the king Malcolm and Margaret his sister received him there with great honour. At the same time the king of France Philip wrote to him and bade him come to him, and he would give him the castle at Montreuil that then he might daily do hurt to his enemies. Moreover, the king Malcolm and his sister Margaret to him and all his men gave great gifts and many treasures in skins, covered with purple, and in pelisses made of marten-skins and of gray fur and of ermine-skins, and in costly robes and in gold and silver vessels; and led him and all his shipmen with great honour out of his dominion. But on the voyage evil befell them; for when they were out at sea, very rough weather caught them and the raging sea and the strong wind cast them on the land so that all their ships went to pieces, and they themselves came ashore with difficulty and well-nigh all their treasures were lost. And of his men some were caught by the Frenchmen, but himself and his ablest men fared back again to Scotland—some ruefully going afoot and others wretchedly riding. Then the king Malcolm advised him to send to king William over sea and pray for his protection; and even so he did. And the king granted

¹ MS. D has the same annal in the same terms (save for the omission of the words "to England" at the end) under the year 1074.

it him and sent after him. And the king Malcolm and his sister again gave him and all his men countless treasures and sent him again very honourably from their dominion; and the sheriff of York came to meet him at Durham and fared all the way with him and caused meat and fodder to be found for him at every castle at which they arrived until they came over sea to the king. And then the king William received him with great honour; and he was there in his household and used such rights as he ordained to him.

1074 [E]. In this year king William fared over sea to Normandy, and Edgar child came from Scotland to Normandy. And the king inlawed him and all his men, and he was in the king's household and took such rights as the king granted him.

1075 [E]. In this year king William gave the daughter of William, son of Osbern, to earl Ralf; the said earl Ralf was a Breton on his mother's side, and his father was an Englishman named Ralf and born in Norfolk. For this cause the king gave the earldom in Norfolk and Suffolk to his son, who brought his wife to Norwich.

There was the bride-ale
the source of man's bale.

There were earl Roger and earl Waltheof and bishops and abbots, and they took counsel and agreed to depose the king from the kingdom of England. And it was straightway made known to the king in Normandy how this agreement went. It was earl Roger and earl Ralf who were chief in the conspiracy; and they enticed the Bretons to them and sent east to Denmark for the assistance of a ship-host. And Roger fared west to his earldom and gathered his folk for the king's hurt, but he was prevented. And Ralf also, in his earldom, would take the field with his folk; but the castle-men, who were in England, and also the folk of the country came against him, and hindered him from accomplishing anything; so he went aboard ship at Norwich. And his wife was within the castle and held it so long that peace was granted to her.

And then she fared out from England and all her men who would go with her. And afterwards the king came to England and seized earl Roger his kinsman and imprisoned him; and he also seized earl Waltheot.

And soon after this came east from Denmark two hundred ships; and therein were two chieftains, Knut son of Swegen and earl Hacon. And they dared not hold fight with king William, but made their way to Flanders.

And Edith the lady died in Winchester seven nights before Christmas; and the king caused her to be brought to Westminster with great honour and laid her with king Edward her lord.

And he was in Westminster that midwinter. And all the Bretons who were at the bride-ale in Norwich were ruined.

Some, they were blinded
others driven from the land;
So were William's
betrayers humbled.

1076 (= 1075) [D]. In this year king William gave the daughter of William, son of Osbern, to earl Ralf; and the said Ralf was Breton on his mother's side and Ralf, his father, was English and born in Norfolk. And for this cause the king gave to his son the earldom there and Suffolk also. He led his wife to Norwich.

There was the bride-ale
that was many men's bale.

There was earl Roger and earl Waltheof and bishops and abbots, and they took counsel and agreed to drive their royal lord from his kingdom. And this was straightway made known to the king in Normandy. Earl Ralf and earl Roger were the heads in the conspiracy; and they enticed the Bretons to them and sent also to Denmark for a ship-host. And Roger fared west to his earldom and gathered his folk for the king's hurt, as he thought; but it turned out to the great harm of themselves. Ralf also would take the

field with his earldom. But the castlemen, who were in England, and also the folk of the country came against them, and prevented them all from accomplishing anything; but he was fain to escape aboard ship. And his wife remained behind in the castle and held it so long until peace was granted to her; and then she fared out from England and all her men who would go with her. And afterwards the king came to England and captured earl Roger his kinsman and set him in prison. And earl Waltheof fared over sea and accused himself and begged for forgiveness and offered treasure. But the king made light of it until he came to England; and afterwards he caused him to be arrested.

And soon after this came from Denmark two hundred ships; therein were chieftains, Knut son of king Swegen and earl Hacon. And they dared not hold fight with king William, but fared to York and broke into St. Peter's monastery and took therein much property and so fared away. But all died, who were of that counsel: that was, the son of earl Hacon and many others with him.

And Edith the lady died—she was king Edward's bedfellow—seven nights before Christmas in Winchester. And the king caused her to be brought to Westminster with great honour and laid her with king Edward her lord.

The king was that midwinter in Westminster. There were condemned all the Bretons who were at the marriage-feast in Norwich.

Some, they were blinded,
others exiled from the land
others brought to shame.
Thus were the king's
betrayers humbled.

1076 [E]. In this year died Swegen, king in Denmark, and Harold his son succeeded to the kingdom.

And the king gave Westminster to abbot Vitalis, who was formerly abbot in Bernay. And earl Waltheof was beheaded in Winchester and his body was carried to Croyland.

And the king fared over sea and led his fyrd to Brittany and besieged the castle of Dol; and the Bretons held it until the king came from Frankland. And William fared thence and there lost both men and horses and many of his treasures.

1077 (= 1076) [D]. In this year died Swegen, king in Denmark, and Harold his son succeeded to the kingdom. Here king William gave the abbacy at Westminster to abbot Vitalis who was formerly monk at Bernay. And here earl Waltheof was beheaded in Winchester on St. Petronilla's mass-day (May 31st); and his body was carried to Croyland and he is buried there. And king William fared over sea and led a fyrd to Brittany and besieged the castle at Dol; but the Bretons held it until the king came from France. And king William fared thence and there lost both men and horses and countless treasures.

1077 [E]. Here in this year the king of the Franks and William king of England were reconciled; but it lasted but a little while.

And this year London was burnt one night before the Assumption of St. Mary (Aug. 15th) so extensively as it never was since it was founded.

And in this year died Ægelwig abbot in Evesham on the day xiv kal. March (Feb. 16th). And also bishop Hereman died on the day x kal. March (Feb. 20th).

1078 (= 1077) [D]. Here the moon was eclipsed three nights before Candlemas; and Ægelwig the world-wise abbot in Evesham died on St. Juliana's mass-day (Feb. 16th); and Walter was appointed abbot in his stead. And bishop Hereman died, who was bishop in Berkshire and in Wiltshire and in Dorset. And here king Malcolm won the mother of Mælsæht¹. . . and all his best men and all his treasure and his cattle, and himself with difficulty escaped.² . . . And here was the dry summer, and wildfire came in many

¹ Nearly a line left blank in MS.

² Six lines left blank in MS.

shires and burnt many villages, and also many boroughs were burnt.

1079 [E]. In this year came king Malcolm from Scotland into England between the two masses of St. Mary (Aug. 15th—Sept. 8th) with a large fyrd and harried Northumberland as far as the Tyne and slew many hundreds of men and carried home many moneys and treasures and men in captivity.

And the same year the king William fought against his son Robert without Normandy near a castle called Gerberoi. And the king William was wounded there; and his horse, on which he sat, slain. And also his son William was wounded there and many men slain.

1079 [D]. Here Robert, the king William's son, fled from his father to his uncle Robert in Flanders—because his father would not let him rule his earldom in Normandy which himself, and also the king Philip with his consent, had given to him; and the best who were in the land had sworn oaths to him and taken him for lord. Here Robert fought against his father and wounded him in the hand; and his horse was shot under him, and he who brought him another was straightway shot with a cross-bow: that was Tokig, son of Wiggod. And many were there slain and also captured; and Robert wended back to Flemings' land. We will, however, write no more of the harm which he . . . his father . . .¹

1080 [E]. In this year the bishop Walcher was slain in Durham at a council, and a hundred men—French and Flemish—with him. He himself was born in Lorraine. This did the Northumbrians in the month of May.

¹ Here ends MS. D. Under 1080 is an entry due to a much later hand; the language can hardly be termed Anglo-Saxon at all. It deals with the rebellion of Angus, earl of Moray, which actually occurred in the year 1130; possibly, as Plummer suggests, MLXXX being a mistake for MCXXX. It runs thus:—Here Anagus was slain by the Scots' host; and there was great slaughter made with him. There was God's law avenged on him, because he was all forsworn.

1081 [E]. In this year the king led a fyrd into Wales and there set free many hundreds of men.

1082 [E]. Here the king arrested bishop Odo. And there was a great famine.

1083 [E]. In this year arose the discord in Glastonbury between the abbot Thurstan and his monks. It was first caused by the abbot's un wisdom in that he treated his monks ill in many respects; but the monks in kindly fashion complained to him and begged him to govern them rightly and to love them, and they would be faithful and obedient to him. But the abbot would none of this and did them evil and threatened them worse. One day the abbot went to a meeting of the chapter and spoke against the monks and would ill-use them; and he sent for laymen, and they came fully armed into the chapter-house upon the monks. Then the monks were greatly terrified of them and knew not what to do: they fled in all directions—some ran into the church and locked the doors from within; and they fared after them into the minster and would drag them out, as they dared not go out. But a rueful thing happened there on that day; for the Frenchmen broke into the choir and cast missiles towards the altar where the monks were, and some of the retainers went up on to the upper floor and shot downwards with arrows towards the sanctuary so that many arrows stuck in the rood which stood above the altar; and the wretched monks lay about the altar and some crept under and earnestly cried to God, beseeching His mercy—since they could obtain no mercy from men. What can we say? But that they shot ceaselessly, and others broke down the doors there and entered and put some of the monks to death and wounded many therein so that the blood ran from the altar on to the steps and from the steps to the floor. Three there were smitten to death and eighteen wounded.

And the same year died Matilda, king William's queen, on the day after All-Hallows' mass-day (Nov. 2nd).

And the same year after midwinter the king caused a great and heavy geld to be raised over all England: that was, seventy-two pence for every hide.

1084 [E]. Here in this year died Wulfwold, abbot in Chertsey, on the day xiii kal. May (April 19th).

1085 [E]. In this year men reported and declared for a truth that Knut king of Denmark, son of king Swe-gen, was bound hitherward and would conquer this land with earl Robert's aid from Flanders—for Knut had Robert's daughter [to wife]. When William king of England who was at the time sitting in Normandy—for he had possession both of England and of Normandy—heard this, he fared into England with so great a host of horse and foot from France and from Brittany as never before had sought this land; so that men wondered how this land could feed all the host. But the king caused the host to be distributed throughout all this land to his men; and they fed the host, each according to the proportion of his land. And men suffered great affliction this year; and the king caused the land about the sea to be laid waste so that, if his foes landed, they should not easily find anything to seize. But when the king learnt for truth that his foes were hindered and could not proceed in their expedition, he let a part of the host fare to their own land and a part he kept in this land over the winter.

At midwinter the king was at Gloucester with his witan and held his court there five days; and afterwards the archbishop and clergy held a synod for three days. There was Maurice chosen to the bishopric in London, William to Norfolk, and Robert to Cheshire: they were all clerks of the king. After this the king had a great council and spoke very deeply with his witan concerning this land how it was occupied and with what men. Then he sent his men over all England into every shire and caused [them] to ascertain how many hundred hides were in the shires or what of land and of cattle the king himself owned in this country or what dues he ought to receive every

twelve-month from the shires. Also he caused them to write down how much of land belonged to his archbishops and his suffragan bishops and his abbots and his earls; and—though I make my tale too long—what or how much in land and in cattle each man possessed, who was an occupier of land in England, and how much money it was worth. So very narrowly did he cause the survey to be made that there was not a single hide or rood of land, nor even—it is a shame to relate, but it seemed to him no shame to do—was an ox or a cow or a pig left, that was not set down in his writing; and afterwards all these writings were brought to him.

1086 [E].¹ Here the king wore his crown and held his court in Winchester at Easter, and he so fared that he was at Westminster during Pentecost and there he dubbed his son Henry knight. Afterwards he fared about so that he came to Salisbury at Lammas, and came to him there his witan and all the occupiers of land who were of account over all England—whose men soever they might be—and they all submitted to him and became his men and swore oaths of allegiance to him that they would be faithful to him against all others. Thence he fared to the Isle of Wight because he would cross over to Normandy; and so he afterwards did. Yet first he did after his wont: obtained a very great sum of money from his men upon any pretext he could find, whether just or otherwise. Then he fared to Normandy, and Edgar atheling, king Edward's kinsman, left him because he received no great honour from him. May the almighty God give him honour hereafter! And Christina, the atheling's sister, went into the monastery at Romsey and took the veil.

And the same was a very heavy year and a very disastrous and sorrowful year in England through mur-

¹ MS. has 1085, which is thus found repeated. Owing to this mistake, annals up to 1089 are one year behind the true date. The scribe ultimately rights matters by omitting the number 1088 altogether.—Plummer.

rain of cattle, and corn and fruits were checked; and so great mischance in the weather as one may not easily conceive: so violent was the thunder and lightning that it killed many men, and things ever grew worse and worse with men. May almighty God mend it when such be his will!

1087 [E].¹ One thousand and eighty-seven winters after the birth of our Lord Saviour Christ, in the one and twentieth year since William ruled and swayed England—as God granted to him—was a very heavy and very pestilent year in this land. Such a disease came on men that well-nigh every other man was in the worst evil, that is, in the fever; and this so severe that many died of it. Afterwards, on account of the bad weather, which came as I related before, befell a most severe famine over all England so that many hundreds of men died a wretched death through it. Alas, how miserable and how rueful a time was then! When the suffering men lay well-nigh at the point of death, then came the sharp famine and utterly destroyed them.

Who cannot feel pity for such a time? or who is so hard-hearted that cannot bewail such misfortune? But such things befall for a folk's sins because they will not love God and righteousness; so it was in those days that little righteousness was in this land with any man, save with the monks alone wherever they fared. The king and the chief men loved much and over-much covetousness in gold and in silver and recked not how sinfully it were acquired so that it came to them. The king gave his land on the hardest possible terms; when some other came and offered more than the first had given, the king let it to the man who offered more. Then came a third and offered yet a larger sum, and the king gave it into the hands of him who offered most of all; and he never recked how very sinfully the reeves obtained it from poor

¹ MS. has 1086, though the body of the annal has 1087 rightly enough; cf. note on the previous page.

men, nor how much illegal oppression they did. But the more that was spoken about right law, the more bad law was enforced; they levied unjust tolls and many another injustice did which it is difficult to reckon.

Also in the same year before autumn the holy church of St. Paul, the episcopal see in London, was burnt and many other churches and the greatest and noblest part of the whole town. So also in the same time was burnt well-nigh every chief town in all England. Alas, a rueful and deplorable time was this year, which was bringing forth so many mishaps.

Also in the same year before the Assumption of St. Mary (Aug. 15th) king William fared from Normandy into France with a fyrd and harried the land of his own lord, Philip the king, and slew a great deal of his men and burnt the town of Mantes and all the holy churches that were within the town, and two holy men, who served God by dwelling in an anchorite's cell, were there burnt.

This being thus done, the king William turned back to Normandy. A rueful thing he did and a more rueful befell him. How much more rueful? He fell sick and was severely afflicted. What can I tell? The sharp death, which forsakes neither powerful men nor humble, seized him also. He died in Normandy on the day following after the Nativity of St. Mary (Sept. 9th) and was buried at Caen in St. Stephen's church which formerly he had built and then endowed with manifold riches.

Alas, how false and how unstable is this world's wealth! He who before was a powerful king and lord of many a land—he had of the whole land but a seven-foot measure. And he who was whilome decked with gold and with gems—he lay covered over with earth.

He left after him three sons: Robert was named the eldest, who was earl in Normandy after him; the second was named William, who wore the royal crown in England after him; the third was named

Henry, to whom his father bequeathed innumerable treasures.

If anyone wishes to know what kind of man he was or what honour he had or how many lands he was lord of, then will we write of him even as we knew him—we who have looked on him and once on a time dwelt in his court. The king William, of whom we are speaking, was a very wise man and very powerful and more worshipful and stronger than any of his predecessors were. He was mild to the good men who loved God and over all measure stern to the men who gainsaid his will. On the same stead, where God had granted to him that he might conquer England, he erected a famous monastery and placed monks there and well endowed it. In his days the famous church in Canterbury was built and also very many others over all England. Also this land was filled plentifully with monks who lived their life after St. Benedict's rule; and Christendom was such in his day that each man, who would, followed whatsoever pertained to his rank. Also he was very worshipful; thrice he wore his royal crown every year—as oft as he was in England. At Easter he wore it in Winchester; at Pentecost in Westminster; at midwinter in Gloucester; and then were with him all the powerful men over all England, archbishops and suffragan bishops, abbots and earls, thegns and knights. So also was he a very stark man and terrible so that none dared do anything against his will. He had earls in his bonds, who did against his will; bishops he deposed from their bishoprics and abbots from their abbacies and thegns he put in prison and at length he spared not his own brother, named Odo. He was a very powerful bishop in Normandy; in Bayeux was his bishop's seat, and was the foremost of men besides the king; and he had earldom in England, and when the king was in Normandy, then was he master in this land; and him he put in prison. Amongst other things is not to be forgotten the good peace which he made in this land so that a man, who was himself of

some account, might fare unmolested over his kingdom with his bosom full of gold; and no man dared slay another, had he done ever so great evil to the other; and if any male lay with a woman against her will, straightway he lost the limb with which he played.

He reigned over England and by his cunning so surveyed it that there was not one hide of land in England that he did not know by whom it was occupied or what it was worth and which afterward he set down in his writing. Wales was under his sway and therein he erected castles and completely subdued that race. In like manner also he subjected Scotland to him on account of his great strength. The land of Normandy was his natural right and over the earldom which is called Maine he reigned, and if he might have lived another two years, he had conquered Ireland by his wariness—and without any weapons. Truly in his time men suffered great hardship and very many afflictions.

Castles he bade be erected

and poor men to be greatly oppressed.

The king was of great sternness

and took from his subjects many marks

of gold and more hundred pounds of silver.

This he took by weight and with great unright from his people, for little need.

He was fallen into covetousness,

and greediness he altogether loved.

He made many a deer-preserve and enacted laws therewith

that whosoever should kill hart or hind

him his men should blind.

As the harts, so he forbade the boars to be killed.

Much he loved the tall deer

as if he were their father.

Also he made rules concerning the hares that they might fare free.

His great men murmured at it and the poor men lamented it

But he was so very stiff that he recked not the hate of them all.

But they were forced withal the king's will to follow if they would live or hold land, land or property, or especially his favour.

Woe alas! that any man should be so proud, should exalt and account himself over all men!

May the almighty God show mercy to his soul and forgive him his sins!

These things we have written concerning him, both good and bad, that good men might take after the good and flee withal from the evil and walk in the way that leads us to the heavenly kingdom.

Many things we can write of which happened in the same year. Thus it was in Denmark—that the Danes, who were earlier accounted the most loyal of all folks, were turned to the greatest faithlessness and to the greatest treachery which might ever be. They chose and submitted to king Knut and swore oaths to him and afterwards basely slew him within a church. Also it happened in Spain that the heathen men fared and harried upon the christian men and subdued many to their sway. But the christian king, who was named Alphonso, sent earnestly into every land and begged for help; and to him came help from every land which was christian, and they fared and slew and drove away all that heathen folk and regained their land through God's aid.

Also in this same land in the same year died many great men—Stigand bishop of Chichester and the abbot of St. Augustin's and the abbot of Bath and he of Pershore and the lord of them all, William king of England of whom we have spoken before. After his death his son, named William just like his father, succeeded to the kingdom and was blessed as king by archbishop Lanfranc in Westminster three days before Michaelmas-day. And all the men in England submitted to him and swore oaths to him. This being thus done, the king fared to Winchester and inspected the treasure-house and the riches which his father had

before gathered—it was not to be expressed by any man how much was gathered there in gold and in silver and in vessels and in robes and in gems and in many other priceless things which are difficult to reckon. The king did as his father bade him ere he was dead: distributed the treasures for his father's soul to every monastery which was within England—to one monastery ten marks of gold, to another six—and to every country-church sixty pennies, and into every shire was sent a hundred pounds of money to be distributed to poor men for his soul; and ere he died he bade that all the men, who were in prison under his command, should be released. And the king was in London at midwinter.

1088 [E].¹ In this year this land was much disturbed and filled with great treason so that the principal Frenchmen, who were in this country, would betray their lord the king and would have as king his brother Robert, who was earl in Normandy. Bishop Odo was foremost in this counsel and bishop Gosfrith and William bishop in Durham. So well did the king with regard to the bishop that all England was directed after his counsel and according to his pleasure; but the bishop thought to do by him as Judas Iscariot did by our Lord. And earl Roger was also in this plot and very many folk with them—all Frenchmen. And this plot was formed in the spring; and as soon as Easter came, they fared and harried and burnt and laid waste the king's farms, and they destroyed the land of all the men who were in the allegiance of the king. And each of them fared to his castle and manned it and provisioned it as he best might. Bishop Gosfrith and Robert of Mowbray fared to Bristol and harried and brought the booty to the castle; and then fared out of the castle and harried Bath and all the land thereabout and the whole district subject to Berkeley they laid waste. And the chief men of Hereford and all the shire with them and the men of Shropshire

¹ MS. has 1087; see note to page 196.

with much folk from Wales came and harried and burnt in Worcestershire until they came to the city itself; and then they would burn the city and plunder the church and win the king's castle into their hands. Seeing these things, the venerable bishop Wulfstan was very troubled in his mind because the castle was entrusted to his keeping. Nevertheless the men of his household fared out with a few men from the castle and by God's mercy and by the bishop's merit slew and captured five hundred men and put all the others to flight. The bishop of Durham did all the harm he might everywhere in the north. Roger was named one of them, who surprised the castle at Norwich and did the worst evils over all that land. Hugo also was one who did no more good either in Leicestershire or in Northampton. The bishop Odo, who was the origin of the mischief, fared into Kent to his earldom and utterly destroyed it and laid waste the king's land and the archbishop's too and carried all the property into his castle in Rochester.

When the king understood all these things and what treachery they did towards him, he was greatly troubled in his mind. He sent after Englishmen and explained to them his need and desired their help and promised them the best laws that ever before were in this land, and every unjust geld he forbade and granted to men their woods and the right of hunting; but it stood no while. Nonetheless Englishmen flocked to the aid of the king their lord. Then they fared towards Rochester and would get possession of the bishop Odo, thinking that if they had him, who was erewhile the head in the plot, they might get the better possession of all the others. Then they came to the castle at Tonbridge; in the castle were bishop Odo's knights and many others who would hold it against the king. But the Englishmen went and broke into the castle and the men, who were therein, made peace with the king. The king with his host fared towards Rochester and they imagined that the bishop would be therein; but it became known to the king that the bishop was de-

parted to the castle at Pevensey, and the king with his host fared after and besieged the castle with a very great host for full six weeks.

Meanwhile the earl of Normandy, Robert the king's brother, gathered very many folk and thought to conquer England with help of the men who were in this land against the king; and he sent some of his men to this land and would come himself after. But the Englishmen, who guarded the sea, seized some of the men and slew and drowned more than any one knew how to reckon.

After that, food failed them within the castle; then they desired truce and surrendered it to the king. And the bishop swore that he would fare out of England and no more come in this land, save the king send after him, and that he would surrender the castle in Rochester. Even as the bishop went and was to surrender the castle, and the king had sent his men with him, the men who were within the castle arose and seized the bishop and the king's men and put them into prison. Within the castle were very good knights—Eustace the young and three sons of earl Roger and all the best-born men, who were within this land or in Normandy.

When the king understood these things, he fared after with the host, which he had there, and sent over all England and bade that every man, who was not nothing, should come to him—French and English, from town and from country. Came to him then much folk, and he fared to Rochester and beset the castle until they who were therein made peace and surrendered the castle. The bishop Odo with the men, who were within the castle, fared over sea and thus the bishop lost the worship which he had in this land. After that, the king sent a host to Durham and caused the castle to be besieged, and the bishop made peace and surrendered the castle and left his bishopric and fared to Normandy. Also many Frenchmen left their lands and fared over sea, and the king gave their lands to the men who were loyal to him.

1089 [E]. In this year the venerable father and comfort of monks, archbishop Lanfranc, departed this life, but we trust that he fared to the heavenly kingdom. Likewise happened over all England a great earthquake on the day iii Ides August (Aug. 11th). And it was a very backward year in corn and in fruits of every kind so that many men reaped their corn about Martinmas (Nov. 11th) and yet later.

1090 [E]. Indictione XIII. This being thus done—all as before we said above about the king and about his brother and about his men—the king was considering how he might avenge his brother Robert, trouble him most and win Normandy from him. Thus through his cunning or through riches he got possession of the castle at St. Valery and the haven, and so he got possession of the one at Albemarle and therein he put his knights; and they did harm on the land by harrying and by burning. After this, he got possession of more castles within the land and therein placed his retainers. After the earl of Normandy, Robert, understood that his sworn men failed him and gave up their castles to his harm, he sent to his lord Philip, king of the Franks; and he came to Normandy with a great host, and the king and the earl with an immense fyrd besieged the castle, wherein the king's men of England were. The king William of England sent to Philip, king of the Franks; and he for his love or for his great treasures abandoned his man, the earl Robert, and his land; and fared back to France and left them as they were. And during these things this land was much oppressed by unlawful gelds and in many other matters.

1091 [E]. In this year the king William held his court in Westminster at Christmas, and thereafter at Candlemas (Feb. 2nd) he fared out of England into Normandy for his brother's hurt. While he was there, their reconciliation took place on the condition that the earl should give into his hands Fécamp and the earldom at Eu and Cherbourg, and in addition thereto the king's men should be sackless in the castles which they had gotten against the earl's will. And the king

promised him to bring back to its obedience Le Maine, which their father conquered and which had revolted from the earl, and all that his father had beyond there save the districts which he had granted to the king. And all those, who before had their land in England for the earl, should have it back by this reconciliation; and the earl should have in England as much as was in their treaty. And if the earl died without son by lawful wedlock, the king would be heir of all Normandy. By this same treaty, if the king died, the earl would be heir of all England. To this treaty swore twelve of the best on the king's side and twelve on the earl's, though it stood but a little while.

In the course of this reconciliation Edgar atheling was deprived of the lands which the earl before had assigned into his hands; and he fared out of Normandy to Scotland to the king his brother-in-law and to his sister.

While the king William was out of England, the king Malcolm from Scotland fared hither into England and harried a great deal of it until the good men, who governed this land, sent a fyrd against him and turned him back. When the king William in Normandy heard this, he made ready for his departure and came to England and his brother the earl Robert with him and straightway he bade summon out a fyrd, both a ship-fyrd and a land-fyrd; but ere he might come to Scotland, the ship-fyrd almost all perished miserably four days before Michaelmas. And the king and his brother fared with the land-fyrd; but when the king Malcolm heard that they would seek him with a fyrd, he fared with his fyrd out of Scotland into Lothian in England and there waited. When the king William approached with his fyrd, earl Robert and Edgar atheling went between the kings and made a reconciliation, so that the king Malcolm came to our king and became his man to all such obedience as before he did to his father and with oath confirmed it. And the king William promised him in land and in everything that which before he had under his father.

In this treaty Edgar atheling was also reconciled with the king, and the kings then parted in great peace; but it stood only a little while. And the earl Robert dwelt here with the king almost until Christmas and meantime found little of true faith in their agreement and two days ere the festival took ship at the Isle of Wight and fared into Normandy and Edgar atheling with him.

1092 [E]. In this year the king William with a great fyrd fared north to Carlisle and restored the town and drove out Dolfin, who erewhile ruled the land there, and occupied the castle with his own men and afterwards turned south hither and sent a great number of peasant-folk with their wives and with their cattle there to dwell and to till the land.

1093 [E]. In this year in the spring the king William was taken so very sick that he was everywhere reported dead, and in his illness he made many vows to God—to lead his own life in righteousness and to grant peace and protection to God's churches and never again to sell them with money and to have all just laws among his people. And the archbishopric in Canterbury, which before had remained in his own hands, he entrusted to Anselm, who before was abbot in Bec, the bishopric in Lincoln to Robert his chancellor and granted land to many monasteries; but afterwards, when he was recovered, he withdrew all this and abandoned all the good laws which before he promised us.

After this the king of Scotland sent and demanded the terms of the treaty which had been promised him; and the king William summoned him to Gloucester and sent him hostages to Scotland and Edgar atheling afterwards and then the men to meet him, who brought him with great honour to the king. But when he came to the king, he might not be held worthy either of speech with our king or of the terms of the treaty which had been promised him; and in consequence they parted with great unpeace, and the king Malcolm turned home to Scotland. But directly he came home,

he gathered his fyrd and fared into England, harrying with greater folly than behoved him, and Robert the earl of the Northumbrians with his men entrapped him unawares and slew him. He was slain by Moræl of Bamborough, who was the earl's steward and king Malcolm's gossip. With him was also slain Edward his son, who should have been king after him if he had lived. When the good queen Margaret heard this—her dearest lord and son thus betrayed—she was afflicted in mind to death and went to church with her priests and received her rites and obtained by prayer to God that she gave up her spirit. Then the Scots chose as king Donald, Malcolm's brother, and drove out all the English who before were with the king Malcolm. When Duncan, son of king Malcolm—who was in the king William's court, even as his father had given him as a hostage to our king's father and here he had remained afterwards—heard that all this had taken place, he came to the king and rendered such pledges, as the king would have from him, and so with his consent fared to Scotland with the aid of English and French, that he might obtain, and deprived his kinsman Donald of the kingdom and was received as king. But a party of Scots gathered together again and slew well-nigh all his men, but he himself with a few escaped. Afterwards they were reconciled on the understanding that never again would he introduce English or French into the land.

1094 [E]. Here the king William had his court at Christmas at Gloucester and messengers came to him thither from his brother Robert of Normandy. They declared that his brother renounced all peace and agreement unless the king would perform all that before they had settled in the treaty; and thereupon he called him forsworn and faithless unless he held to the treaty or fared thither and justified himself there where before the treaty had been drawn up and also confirmed by oath.

Then the king fared to Hastings at Candlemas (Feb. 2nd); and whilst he was waiting there for

weather he caused the monastery at Battle to be consecrated and deprived Herbeard Losang, the bishop of Thetford, of his staff and thereafter at mid-Lent fared over sea to Normandy. After he came thither, he and his brother Robert the earl said that they should come together with peace; and so they did, yet might not be reconciled. After that, they came together again with the same men, who before had made the settlement and also sworn the oaths, and they charged the whole breach upon the king; but he would not allow this nor yet hold to the agreement, and in consequence they separated with great unpeace.

And afterwards the king won the castle at Bures and captured the earl's men therein, some of whom he sent to this land. On the other hand the earl with the king's help of France won the castle at Argentan—and therein captured Roger Poitevin and seven hundred of the king's knights with him—and afterwards the one at Le Houlme. And repeatedly either of them against the other burnt towns and seized also men.

Then the king sent to this land and bade summon out twenty thousand Englishmen to his aid in Normandy; but when they came to the sea, they were ordered to return and to give for the king's behoof the money which they had received—that was half a pound each man—and so they did.

And after this the earl in Normandy, with the king of France and with all whom they might collect, fared towards Eu, wherein the king William was, and thought to besiege him; and so they fared until they came to Longueville. There was the king of France turned back by some intrigue, and so afterwards the whole expedition broke up. Here meantime the king William sent after his brother Henry, who was in the castle at Domfront; but because he might not go with peace through Normandy, he sent ships after him and Hugo earl of Chester. But when they should have gone towards Eu where the king was, they fared to

England and landed at Southampton on the eve of All-Hallows' mass (Oct. 31st) and here afterwards dwelt and at Christmas were in London.

Also in this same year the Welsh men gathered together and raised strife with the French, who were in Wales or in the neighbourhood and had formerly deprived them of their lands, and stormed many fastnesses and castles and slew men; but afterwards as their forces increased, they divided themselves into more bands. Against one of these fought Hugo earl of Shropshire and put them to flight. Nevertheless the others all the year ceased from no evil which they might do.

This year also the Scots beguiled and slew their king Duncan and afterwards took for a second time as king his paternal uncle Donald, through whose instructions and instigation he was betrayed to death.

1095 [x]. In this year the king William was at Wissant during the first four days of Christmas and after the fourth day he fared to this country and landed at Dover. And Henry the king's brother dwelt in this country until the spring and then fared over sea to Normandy with much treasure [to be employed] in the king's service against their brother earl Robert, and continually warred upon the earl and did much harm to him both in land and in men.

And then at Easter the king held his court in Winchester and the earl Robert of the Northumbrians would not come to court; and therefore the king was greatly excited against him and sent to him and sternly commanded that if he would be [held] worthy of peace he should come to court at Pentecost. In this year Easter was on viii kal. April (March 25th), and during Easter on the mass-night of St. Ambrose, that is ii non. April (April 4th), was seen well-nigh over all this land for nearly the whole night a great multitude of stars falling from heaven; not one or two at a time, but so thickly that no man might count them. Hereafter at Pentecost the king was in Windsor and all his witan with him save the earl of the North-

umbrians, for the king would neither give hostages nor grant on pledges that he might come and go in peace.

And the king, therefore, called out his fyrd and fared to Northumbria against the earl and, as soon as he came thither, he seized many and nearly all of the best of the earl's household in a fortress and put them into prison and besieged the castle at Tynemouth until he won it and the earl's brother therein and all those who were with him, and afterwards fared to Bamborough and besieged the earl therein. But when the king saw that he might not reduce him, he commanded a castle to be erected in front of Bamborough and called it in his tongue Malvoisin, that is in English Evil Neighbour and garrisoned it strongly with his men and after that fared southwards. Soon after the king was departed south, the earl fared one night out of Bamborough towards Tynemouth; but those who were within the new castle became aware of him and pursued and attacked him and wounded him and afterwards made him prisoner and of those who were with him slew some, took the others alive.

In the meantime it became known to the king that the Welsh men had stormed a certain castle in Wales called Montgomery and slain earl Hugo's men who should have held it; and in consequence he bade summon out another fyrd in haste and after Michaelmas fared into Wales and divided his fyrd, penetrated [by various ways] through the whole land so that the fyrd came altogether at Snowdon on All-Hallows (Nov. 1st). But the Welsh ever retired into mountains and hills in front so that it was impossible to come at them; and the king turned homewards because he saw that he might do no more there that winter.

When the king came back, he ordered the earl Robert of the Northumbrians to be taken and led to Bamborough and either eye to be put out unless those who were therein would surrender the castle. His wife and Moræ, who was steward and also his kins-

man, held it. On this, the castle was surrendered, and Morael was [received] in the king's court, and through him many were discovered both of clergy and of laymen, who were with their counsel traitors to the king. Before this occurrence the king had ordered some of them to be put into prison and afterwards very peremptorily commanded over all this land that all those who held land of the king—as they would be [held] worthy of his protection—were to be at court in time. And the earl Robert the king bade be led to Windsor and confined there within the castle.

Also in this same year, towards Easter, the pope's ambassador came hither to land, that was Walter bishop of the city of Albano—a man of good life, and gave his pallium to the archbishop Anselm at Pentecost, on behalf of the pope Urban; and he received it at his archiepiscopal see in Canterbury. And the bishop Walter dwelt here in the land for a long time this year, and the Rome-scot was sent afterwards by him as had not been done before for many years.

This same year also was very unseasonable weather; and in consequence through all this land the earth fruits turned out but middling.

1096 [E]. In this year the king William held his court at Christmas in Windsor, and William bishop of Durham died there on New Year's day. And in the (Octaves of the Epiphany was the king and all his witan in Salisbury. There Geoffrey Bainard accused William of Eu the king's skinsman that he had been in the king's treason, and fought with him on the point and overcame him in combat; and after he was overcome, ✓ — {the king commanded his eyes to be put out and afterwards he was to be castrated; and his steward named William, who was his aunt's son, the king commanded to be hanged on a rood. There also were Odo, ✓ earl of Champagne, the king's uncle, and many others ✓ mutilated, and some were brought to London and there mutilated.

This year also at Easter was a very great commotion throughout all this people and many other peoples

through Urban, who was called pope though he was not in possession of the see in Rome; and countless folk with wives and children began the march for the purpose of warring upon the heathen people. On account of this expedition the king and his brother earl Robert were reconciled so that the king fared over sea and redeemed all Normandy from him for money, even as they agreed between them; and afterwards the earl fared and with him the earl of Flanders and he of Boulogne and many other chiefs as well. And the earl Robert and those, who fared with him, dwelt that winter in Apulia. But of the folk, who fared by Hungary, many thousands wretchedly perished there and on the way; and many turned homeward rueful and hunger-bitten against the winter.

This was a very grievous year through the whole English race both through manifold gelds and also through very grievous famine, which this year greatly afflicted this country.

Also in this year the chief men who held this land frequently sent a fyrd into Wales and thereby greatly afflicted many a man; but naught was gained there save destruction of men and waste of money.

1097 [E]. Here in this year was the king William in Normandy at Christmas, and then towards Easter fared hither to land because he thought to hold his court in Winchester; but he was prevented by bad weather until Easter eve when he landed first at Arundel, and in consequence held his court at Windsor.

And thereafter with a great host he fared into Wales and penetrated deep into the land with his fyrd through several of the Welsh, who came to him and were his guides, and abode therein from midsummer well-nigh until August and suffered therein a great loss in men and in horses and also in many other things. After the Welsh men revolted from the king, they chose many chieftains from themselves; one of whom was called Caduugaun who was the worthiest of them: he was brother's son of king Griffin. But when the king saw that he might not accomplish aught of his will, he

fared back into this land and soon after that caused castles to be erected on the borders.

Then at Michaelmas iv nones October (Oct. 4th) appeared an extraordinary star shining in the evening and straightway going to its setting. It was seen in the south-west, and the light which glowed from it seemed very long, shining south-east; and well-nigh all the week it appeared in this wise. Many men supposed that it was the comet.

Anselm departs

Soon after this the archbishop Anselm of Canterbury took leave of the king, though it would be displeasing to the king, as men supposed, and fared over sea because himseemed that little was done in this nation according to right and according to his direction.

And thereafter at Martinmas (Nov. 11th) the king fared over sea into Normandy; but whilst he waited for favourable weather, his court did the most harm in the shire where they lay which ever court or host could do in a land at peace with them. This was a very grievous year in all things and over troublesome in storms, when the soil should be tilled and again when the crops should be gathered in, and in excessive gelds which never ceased. Also many shires which belonged to London for work were severely afflicted through the wall which they wrought about the tower and through the bridge which was well-nigh all carried away by a flood and through the building of the king's hall which was erected in Westminster; and many men were oppressed thereby.

Also in this same year near Michaelmas Edgar atheling fared with a fyrd through the king's help into Scotland and conquered the land after a strenuous fight and drove out the king Donald and there he appointed as king in the king William's allegiance his kinsman Edgar, who was son of king Malcolm and of Margaret the queen; and afterwards fared back into England.

1098 [E]. In this year at Christmas was the king William in Normandy, and Walcelin bishop in Win-

chester and Baldwin abbot at St. Edmund's both died within the festival. And in this year also died Turolde abbot of Peterborough.

Moreover in the summer of this year a pool welled forth blood at Finchamstead in Berkshire—according as many true men said who should have seen it.

And earl Hugo was slain in Anglesey by vikings, and his brother Robert was his heir—even as he obtained it of the king.

Before Michaelmas the heavens appeared as if they were burning well-nigh the whole night. This was a very toilsome year through manifold and excessive gelds, and through much rain—which did not cease all the year; nearly every crop in the marsh-land perished.

1099 [E]. Here was the king William at midwinter in Normandy and at Easter came hither to land and at Pentecost for the first time held his court within his new buildings at Westminster and gave there to Ranulf his chaplain the bishopric in Durham, who erewhile had instituted and organized all his assemblies over the whole of England, and soon thereafter fared over sea and expelled the earl Hælie of Le Maine and afterwards reduced it beneath his sway and so at Michaelmas came hither to land again.

This year also on St. Martin's mass-day (Nov. 11th) the sea-tide ran up so very high and did so much to harm as no one remembered that it ever before did; and it was the same day luna prima.

And Osmund bishop of Salisbury died in Advent.

1100 [E]. In this year at Christmas the king William held his court in Gloucester and at Easter in Winchester and at Pentecost in Westminster.

And at Pentecost was seen in Berkshire at a certain village blood welling from the earth according as many said who should have seen it. And thereafter in the morning after Lammas day (Aug. 1st) the king William was shot with an arrow by one of his men and afterwards brought to Winchester and buried in the bishopric; that was the thirteenth year after he succeeded to the kingdom.

WM II

He was very strong and stern over his land and his men and towards all his neighbours and very dreadful, and through the counsels of evil men which were ever pleasing to him and through his own covetousness he was ever harassing this people with a host and with a heavy geld, in consequence of which in his days all righteousness died and all unrighteousness arose in ecclesiastical and in worldly matters. God's churches he oppressed; and the bishoprics and abbacies, whose chiefs died in his days, all he either sold for money or kept in his own hands and exacted tribute because he would be the heir of every man, clerical or lay, and so that on the day when he fell he had in his own hand the archbishopric in Canterbury and the bishopric in Winchester and that in Salisbury and eleven abbacies—from all he exacted tribute. And, though I may prolong the story, all that was hateful to God and to right-thinking men was customary in this land in his time; and therefore he was hateful well-nigh to all his people and abominable to God—as his end showed in that he departed in the midst of his unrighteousness without repentance and any amends.

On the Thursday he was slain and on the morrow buried; and after he was buried the witan, who were near at hand, chose as king his brother Henry; and he thereupon gave the bishopric in Winchester to William Giffard and then fared to London and on the Sunday following before the altar at Westminster promised God and all folk to abolish all the injustices which were in his brother's time and to hold the best laws that stood in any king's day before him. And after that the bishop of London, Maurice, consecrated him king, and all in this land submitted to him and swore oaths and became his men.

And soon after the king by the advice of those who were about him caused the bishop Ranulf of Durham to be arrested and brought into the tower in London and there imprisoned. Then before Michaelmas the archbishop Anselm of Canterbury came hither to land—just as the king Henry by the advice of his witan

sent after him, because he was departed out of this land on account of the great wrong which the king William did him.

And soon hereafter the king took for wife Matilda, daughter of king Malcolm of Scotland and of Margaret the good queen, kinswoman to king Edward and of the true royal race of England; and on St. Martin's mass-day (Nov. 11th) she was given to him with great honour in Westminster, and the archbishop Anselm wedded her to him and afterwards consecrated her queen. And the archbishop Thomas of York died soon hereafter.

This same year also in the autumn the earl Robert came home to Normandy, and the earl Robert of Flanders and Eustace earl of Boulogne, from Jerusalem. And as soon as the earl Robert came into Normandy, he was joyfully received by all the folk save the castles which were occupied with the king Henry's men, against which he had many contests and struggles. 1101 [E]. Here in this year at Christmas the king Henry held his court in Westminster and at Easter in Winchester.

And soon thereafter the chief men here in the land revealed enmity against the king both on account of their own great faithlessness and also through the earl Robert of Normandy, who was meditating an invasion of this country. And the king thereupon sent ships out to sea for the damage and hindrance of his brother; but a part of them failed at time of need and turned from the king and submitted to the earl Robert. Then at midsummer the king fared out to Pevensey with all his fyrd against his brother and awaited him there; but in the meanwhile the earl Robert landed at Portsmouth twelve nights before Lammas (Aug. 1st), and the king with all his fyrd came against him. But the chief men went between them and reconciled the brothers on the condition that the king abandoned all that he held by force in Normandy against the earl, and that all those in England had their lands again, who before had lost them for the earl's sake, and earl

Eustace had all his father's land in this country, and that the earl Robert every year should have from England three thousand marks of silver, and whichever of the brothers might outlive the other was to be heir of all England and also of Normandy unless the deceased had an heir by lawful wedlock; and then this twelve of the highest from either side confirmed with oath, and the earl afterwards dwelt here in the land until past Michaelmas, and his men ever did much harm as they fared, the while the earl dwelt here in the land.

This year also at Candlemas the bishop Ranulf escaped out of the tower in London by night where he was imprisoned and fared to Normandy: through whose instigation chiefly and urging the earl Robert sought this land with unpeace this year.

1102 [E]. In this year at the Nativity the king Henry was in Westminster and at Easter in Winchester.

And soon thereafter were at strife the king and the earl Robert of Belesme who had the earldom in Shropshire in this country, which before his father earl Roger possessed, and much authority besides both on this side of the sea and on the other side. And the king fared and besieged the castle at Arundel; but when he might not win it so speedily, he caused castles to be erected in front thereof and occupied them with his men and afterwards with all his fyrd fared to Bridgenorth and waited there until he had possession of the castle and deprived earl Robert of his lands and took away all that he had in England; and so the earl departed over sea, and the fyrd thereupon turned home.

Thereafter at Michaelmas the king was at Westminster and all the chief men in this land, clerical and lay; and the archbishop Anselm held a synod of the clergy, and there they set forth many commands which belong to Christendom. And there many both of French and English lost their staves and authorities that they had obtained unrighteously or lived on with iniquity.

And in this same year, in Pentecost mass-week, came thieves—some from Auvergne, others from France and others from Flanders—and broke into the monastery of Peterborough and therein seized much property in gold and in silver which were roods and chalices and candlesticks.

1103 [E]. Here in this year at midwinter the king Henry was at Westminster; and soon thereafter the bishop William Giffard fared out of this land because he would not receive his ordination against right from the archbishop Gerard of York. And then at Easter the king held his court in Winchester; and thereafter the archbishop Anselm of Canterbury fared to Rome as he and the king had agreed.

This year also the earl Robert of Normandy came to speak with the king here in the land; and before he fared hence, he gave up the three thousand marks which the king Henry should give him each year according to the treaty.

In this year also at Finchamstead in Berkshire blood was seen [issuing] from the earth. This was a very calamitous year in this country through an excessive geld and murrain of cattle and ruin of fruits—both in corn and also in all tree-fruits. Also in the morning on St. Laurentius' mass-day the wind did so great harm here in the land to all fruits as no one remembered that any wind did ever before.

In this same year died Matthias abbot of Peterborough: he lived no longer than a year after he was abbot. After Michaelmas on xii kal. Nov. (Oct. 21st) he was received with a procession as abbot, and on the same day of the following year he was dead in Gloucester and there buried.

1104 [E]. Here in this year at Christmas the king Henry held his court at Westminster and at Easter in Winchester and at Pentecost again in Westminster.

This year was the first day of Pentecost on the Nones of June (June 5th); and on the Tuesday thereafter appeared four circles of a white hue at midday about the sun—each intertwined under the other as if

they were painted. All wondered who saw it because they never before remembered such things.

Hereafter were reconciled the earl Robert of Normandy and Robert de Belesme whom the king Henry before had deprived of his lands and driven from England; and through their reconciliation the king of England and the earl of Normandy became hostile. And the king sent his folk over sea into Normandy; and the chief men there in the land received them and to their lord the earl's betrayal put them into their castles, whence they did to the earl many injuries in harrying and in burning. Also this year William earl of Mortain fared hence from the land into Normandy; but after he was gone he wrought against the king—wherefore the king deprived him of his lands and everything which he had here in the land.

It is not easy to recount the miseries of this land which it was suffering at this time through various and manifold oppressions and gelds which never ceased nor failed. And ever as the king fared, full harrying fell upon his wretched folk through his court, and in consequence very often burnings and man-slaughters.

All this was to God's provocation

And the torment of this poor people.

1105 [E]. In this year at the Nativity the king Henry held his court at Windsor. And thereafter in the spring he fared over sea into Normandy against his brother earl Robert. And whilst he continued there, he won from his brother Caen and Bayeux; and nearly all the castles and the chief men there in the land became subject to him, and afterwards in the autumn he came back again hither to land. And what he had won in Normandy afterwards continued in peace and obedient to him; save those who dwelt anywhere near the earl William of Mortain who repeatedly harassed him to the utmost of his power, because of the loss of his land here in this country. And before Christmas Robert de Belesme came hither to land to the king.

This was a very disastrous year in this country

through the ruin of fruits and through the manifold gelds which never ceased before the king crossed [to Normandy] and the while he was there and again after he came back.

1106 [E]. Here in this year the king at the Nativity was in Westminster and held his court there, and at that tide Robert de Belesme fared out of this land into Normandy with unpeace from the king.

Hereafter before the spring the king was at Northampton, and the earl Robert his brother of Normandy came thither to him; and because the king would not surrender what he had taken from him in Normandy, they parted at strife; and the earl straightway fared back again over sea.

During the first week in Lent on the Friday xiv kal. March (Feb. 16th) in the evening appeared an extraordinary star and a long time thereafter was seen each evening shining awhile. The star appeared in the south-west: it seemed little and dark: but the light, which glowed from it, was very bright and appeared like an immense beam shining north-east; and one evening it was seen as if the beam was flashing back towards the star. Moreover men said that they saw more unknown stars at this time, but we do not write it more openly because we did not ourselves see it. On the night, of which the morrow was Cœna Domini, that is the Thursday before Easter, were seen two moons in the heavens before the daytime, one in the east and the other in the west, both full; and the same day was the fourteenth of the moon.

At Easter the king was at Bath and at Pentecost at Salisbury because he would not hold a court on his departure over sea. Thereafter before August the king fared over sea into Normandy, and nearly all who were in the land submitted to his will, except Robert de Belesme and the earl of Mortain and a few others of the chief men who still stood by the earl of Normandy; and therefore the king afterwards fared with a fyrd and besieged a castle of the earl of Mortain named Tinchebrai. Whilst the king besieged the

castle, the earl Robert of Normandy came on Michaelmas eve upon the king with his fyrd, and with him Robert de Belesme and William earl of Mortain and all those who would with him. But the might and the victory were the king's. There was the earl of Normandy taken, and the earl of Mortain and Robert d'Estouteville, and afterwards sent to England and put into prison. Robert de Belesme was put to flight there, and William Crispin captured and many together with him. Edgar atheling, who a little before was departed from the king to the earl, was also taken there—whom the king afterwards let go unmolested. After that the king conquered everything that was in Normandy and established it in his will and power.

Conquest of Normandy
This year also was a very heavy and sinful strife between the Emperor of Saxland and his son; and during this strife the father died, and the son succeeded to the realm.

1107 [E]. In this year at Christmas the king Henry was in Normandy and established and arranged that land under his sway and thereafter in the spring came hither to land; and at Easter held his court in Windsor and at Pentecost in Westminster and afterwards in the beginning of August was again in Westminster and there granted and settled bishoprics and abbacies which were without head or guardian in England or in Normandy. Of these were so many that there was no one who remembered that ever before so many together were given.

And at this same time, amongst the others who received abbacies, Ernulf who before was prior in Canterbury succeeded to the abbacy in Peterborough. This was just about seven years after the king Henry succeeded to the realm and was the one and fortieth year since the French ruled this land. Many said that they saw various tokens in the moon this year and its light waxing and waning contrary to its kind.

This year died Maurice bishop in London and Robert abbot in St. Edmundsbury and Richard abbot in Ely. This year died also the king Edgar in Scot-

land on the Ides Jan. (Jan. 13th), and Alexander his brother succeeded to the kingdom—as the king Henry granted him.

1108 [E]. Here in this year at the Nativity the king Henry was in Westminster and at Easter in Winchester and at Pentecost again in Westminster and thereafter before August he fared into Normandy.

And the king of France Philip died on the Nones of August (Aug. 5th), and his son Louis succeeded to the kingdom; and afterwards was much strife between the king of France and him of England, the while he dwelt in Normandy.

In this year also died the archbishop Gerard of York before Pentecost, and afterwards Thomas was appointed thereto.

1109 [E]. Here in this year the king Henry at Christmas and at Easter was in Normandy and before Pentecost came hither to land and held his court in Westminster. There were the agreements completed and the oaths sworn for the giving of his daughter to the emperor.

This year were very many thunderstorms and those very fearful, and the archbishop Anselm of Canterbury died on the day xi kal. April (March 22nd); and the first day of Easter was on Litania major (April 25th).

1110 [E]. In this year the king Henry held his court in Westminster at Christmas, and at Easter he was at Marlborough and at Pentecost for the first time held his court in the New Windsor.

This year the king before the spring sent his daughter with manifold treasures over sea and gave her to the emperor. On the fifth night in the month of May appeared the moon shining brightly in the evening; and afterwards little by little its light waned so that soon it was completely quenched, that neither light nor orb nor anything at all of it was seen. And so it continued well-nigh until day and then appeared shining full and bright; it was on the same day fourteen nights' old. All the night the air was very clear, and the stars over the whole heaven very brightly

shining; and tree-fruits were sorely damaged by frost that night. Thereafter in the month of June appeared a star to the north-east, and its light glowed in front of it in the south-west and thus was seen many nights; and further in the night when it rose higher, it was seen going back in the north-west.

This year Philip de Brause and William Mallet and William Bainart were deprived of their lands.

Also this year died earl Hèlie who held Le Maine of the king Henry and acknowledged him; and after his decease the earl of Anjou succeeded thereto and held it against the king.

This was a very disastrous year here in the land through gelds which the king exacted on behalf of his daughter's marriage and through bad weather—whence the earth-fruits were much injured and the tree-fruits over all this land well-nigh all destroyed.

This year work was first begun on the new monastery in Chertsey.

1111 [E]. In this year the king Henry did not wear his crown at Christmas nor at Easter nor at Pentecost, and in August he fared over sea into Normandy on account of the unpeace which some had against him on the borders of France and especially on account of the earl of Anjou who held Le Maine against him; and after he came over there, many inroads and burnings and harryings they did between them.

In this year died the earl Robert of Flanders, and his son Baldwin succeeded thereto.

This year was a very long winter and grievous and severe, and thereby the earth-fruits were greatly injured, and there was the greatest murrain among cattle that any man might remember.

1112 [E]. All this year the king Henry continued in Normandy on account of the strife which he had with France and with the earl of Anjou who held Le Maine against him. And whilst he was there he deprived of their lands the earl of Evreux and William Crispin and drove them out of Normandy and gave his land back to Philip de Briouze, who before had been

deprived thereof; and Robert de Belesme he caused to be taken and put into prison.

This was a very good year and productive in wood and in field; but it was very grievous and sorrowful through a destructive pestilence.

1113 [E]. Here in this year the king Henry was in Normandy at the Nativity and at Easter and at Pentecost; and thereafter in the summer he sent hither to land Robert de Belesme into the castle at Wareham, and himself soon after came hither to land.

[1113 [H].] . . . so that they might not speak easily. Thereafter the abbot Peter died in Gloucester on the day xvi kal. Aug. (July 17th); and the king appointed William thereto, who was monk in the same monastery, on the day iii nones Oct. (Oct. 5th).

1114 [E]. In this year the king Henry held his court, at the Nativity, in Windsor; and afterwards this year he held no court oftener.

And at midsummer he fared with a fyrd into Wales, and the Welsh came and made a truce with the king; and he caused castles to be erected therein, and thereafter in September he fared over sea into Normandy.

This year in the latter part of May was seen a wonderful star with a long light, shining many nights. Also in this year was so great an ebb everywhere one day, as no one remembered before and so that men fared riding and walking over the Thames to the east of the bridge in London. This year were very great winds in the month of October; but it was exceedingly severe on the night of the Octaves of St. Martin (Nov. 18th), and that was everywhere manifest in woods and villages.

Also in this year the king gave the archbishopric in Canterbury to Ralf, who before was bishop in Rochester; and the archbishop in York Thomas died, and Thurstan succeeded thereto, who before was the king's chaplain.

In this same time the king went toward the sea and would over, but bad weather stopped him. In the meanwhile he sent his writ after the abbot Ernulf of

Peterborough and bade him that he should come to him in haste because he would speak with him in secret. When he came to him, he forced him on to the bishopric of Rochester, and the archbishops and bishops and the nobility which were in England supported the king; and he long withstood them, but it availed naught. And then the king ordered that the archbishop should lead him to Canterbury and bless him bishop—would he, would he not. This was done in the village which is called Eastbourne; that was on the day xvii kal. Oct. (Sept. 15th). When the monks of Peterborough heard that said, they were so sorry as they never were before, because he was a very good and mild man and did much good within and without, the while he dwelt there. May God Almighty ever abide with him!

Then soon after the king gave the abbacy to a monk of Séez by name John at the archbishop's desire of Canterbury. And soon thereafter the king sent him and the archbishop of Canterbury to Rome after the archbishop's pall and a monk with him, whose name is Warner, and the archdeacon John the archbishop's nephew; and there they well sped. This was done on the day xi kal. Oct. (Sept. 21st) in the village which is called Rowner; and the same year the king went on shipboard at Portsmouth.

1114 [H]. In this year the king Henry was in Windsor at midwinter and wore there his crown and there gave the bishopric in Worcester to Theobald his clerk. Also he gave the abbacy in Ramsey to Rainald who was monk in Caen. Also he gave the abbacy in York to Richard who was monk in the same monastery. Also he gave the abbacy at Thorney to Robert who was monk at St. Evroul. Also he gave the earldom in Northamptonshire to David who was the queen's brother. Thereafter died Thomas the archbishop in York on the day xiii kal. Mar (Feb. 17th). Thereafter he gave the abbacy at Cerne to William who was monk at Caen.

At Easter he was at Thorpe near Northampton.

Thereafter he gave the archbishopric in Canterbury to Ralf who was bishop in Rochester; and he succeeded thereto on the day vi kal. Mar. (Feb. 24th). Thereafter died Nigel, the abbot in Burton, on the day v non. May (May 3rd). Thereafter Chichester was burnt and the church together with it on the day iii nones May (May 5th).

At Pentecost the king was at St. Albans. Hereafter he fared with his fyrd into Wales at midsummer and erected castles therein; and the Welsh kings came to him and became his men and swore oaths of allegiance to him.

Thereafter he came to Winchester and there gave the archbishopric in York to Thurstan his clerk, and the abbacy at St. Edmund's he gave to Albold, who was monk in Bec, on the day xvii kal. Sept. (Aug. 16th). Thereafter he gave the abbacy in Michelney to Ealdulf, who was monk in the same monastery, on the day Exaltatio Sce. ✠. Also he gave the abbacy in Burton to Geoffrey who was monk in the Old Minster; at the same occasion the archbishop Ralf gave the bishopric in Rochester. . . .

1115 [E]. Here at the Nativity the king Henry was in Normandy; and whilst he was there, he caused all the chief men in Normandy to give homage and oaths of allegiance to his son William whom he had by his queen; and after that in the month of July came hither to land.

This year was so severe a winter with snow and frost as no one that then lived ever before remembered a severer, and in consequence there was an immense mortality of cattle.

In this year the pope Paschal sent a pall hither to land, to Ralf archbishop in Canterbury, and he received it with great worship at his archiepiscopal see in Canterbury. Anselm abbot of Rome who was archbishop Anselm's nephew brought it [and the abbot of Peterborough].¹

¹ On the margin, by a later hand.

1116 [E]. In this year, at the Nativity, the king Henry was at St. Albans and there caused the monastery to be consecrated and at Easter [was] at Odiham. And this year also there was a very grievous winter and severe and long for cattle and everything. And the king after Easter straightway fared over sea into Normandy, and many an inroad and plundering and capture of castles took place between France and Normandy. Most of this unpeace was because the king Henry supported his nephew the earl Theobald de Blois, who waged war against his lord Louis the king of France.

This was a very calamitous year and disastrous in earth-fruits through the excessive rains which came just before August and greatly afflicted and distressed [people] until Candlemas came (Feb. 2nd). Also this year was so barren in pasture for swine that in all this land and also in Wales no one heard say of any. This land and this people were also this year oftentimes sorely oppressed through the geld which the king exacted both from town and country.

In this year was burnt the whole monastery of Peterborough and all the houses about the Chapter-house and the Dormitory; and in addition thereto was burnt all the greatest part of the village. All this happened on a Friday, that was ii non. Aug. (Aug. 4th).

1117 [E]. All this year the king Henry dwelt in Normandy because of the strife of the king of France and his other neighbours. And then in the summer came the king of France and the earl of Flanders with him with a fyrd into Normandy and stayed one night therein and on the morrow fared back without fight. And Normandy was greatly oppressed both through a geld and through a fyrd which the king Henry gathered against them. Also this nation was severely afflicted through this same manifold geld.

This year also on the night kal. Dec. (Dec. 1st) were most violent storms with thunder and lightning and rain and hail. And in the night iii Ides Dec.

(Dec. 11th) the moon remained long in the night as if it were all bloody, and afterwards was eclipsed. Also in the night xvii kal. Jan. (Dec. 16th) the heavens were seen very red as if they were on fire. And on the Octaves of St. John Evangelist (Jan. 3rd) was the great earthquake in Lombardy whence many churches and towers and houses fell [to the ground] and did much harm to men. This was a very barren year in corn through the rains which did not cease for nearly all the year.

And the abbot Gilbert of Westminster died viii id. Dec. (Dec. 6th); and Faricius abbot of Abingdon vii kal. March (Feb. 23rd); and in this same year. . . .¹
 1118 [E]. Here all this year the king Henry dwelt in Normandy for the war of the king of France and the earl of Anjou and the earl of Flanders. And the earl of Flanders was wounded in Normandy and so wounded fared into Flanders. Through the strife of these the king was greatly afflicted and lost much both in money and also in land, and harassed him most his own men who often revolted and betrayed him and turned to his foes and surrendered their castles to the king's harm and betrayal. All this England dearly bought through the manifold gelds which did not cease all this year.

In this year in the week of Theophania was one evening very great lightning and a very loud thunder-clap thereafter.

And the queen Matilda died in Westminster on the day kal. May (May 1st) and was buried there. And the earl Robert of Meulan also died this year.

Also in this year at St. Thomas' mass (Dec. 21st) was so very violent a wind that no one who then lived remembered any greater; and that was everywhere visible both in houses and also in trees.

This year also died the pope Paschal and John of Gaeta succeeded to the popedom, whose other name was Gelasius.

¹ More than a line and a half left vacant in the MS.

1119 [E]. This whole year the king Henry dwelt in Normandy and through the war of the king of France and also of his own men, who with treachery revolted from him, was oftentimes greatly afflicted until the two kings came together in Normandy with their folks. There was the king of France put to flight and all his best men captured; and afterwards many of the king Henry's men, who before were with their castles against him, submitted and made terms with him and some of the castles he took by force.

This year William son of the king Henry and the queen Matilda fared into Normandy to his father; and there was given to him and wedded as wife the earl's daughter of Anjou.

On Michaelmas eve was a great earthquake in some places here in the land though especially in Gloucestershire and in Worcestershire.

In this same year died the pope Gelasius on this side of the mountains and was buried in Cluny, and after him the archbishop of Vienne was chosen pope whose name was Calixtus, who afterwards on St. Luke Evangelist's mass (Oct. 18th) came into France to Rheims and there held a council, and the archbishop Thurstan of York fared thither. And because he against right and against the arch-see in Canterbury and against the king's will received his ordination, the king refused him all return to England; and he thus lost¹ his archbishopric and fared with the pope towards Rome.

Also in this year died the earl Baldwin of Flanders of the wound which he received in Normandy, and after him Charles his father's sister's son succeeded to the realm, who was son of Knut the holy king of Denmark.

1120 [E]. This year were reconciled the king of England and he of France; and after their reconciliation all of the king Henry's own men made terms with him in Normandy and the earl of Flanders and he of Ponthieu. Hereafter the king Henry occupied his castles

¹ Word is doubtful in this case.

and his land in Normandy after his will and so before Advent fared hither to land.

And on that journey were drowned the king's two sons, William and Richard, and Richard earl of Chester and Ottuel his brother and very many of the king's court—stewards and chamberlains and cup-bearers and divers other officers and a countless number of noble folk with them. The death of these was a twofold pain to their friends—one, that they so suddenly were deprived of this life: the other, that few of their bodies were found anywhere afterwards.

This year came the light to the Sepulchre of Our Lord in Jerusalem twice—once at Easter and a second time on the Assumption of St. Mary (Aug. 15th) as trustworthy [people] said who came thence.

And the archbishop Thurstan of York was through the pope reconciled with the king and came hither to land and received his bishopric, though it might be very displeasing to the archbishop of Canterbury.

1121 [E]. Here at Christmas the king Henry was in Brampton, and thereafter before Candlemas Adelheid was given to him as wife and then consecrated queen; she was the duke's daughter of Louvain.

And the moon was eclipsed in the night nones April (April 5th) and it was fourteen days old.

And the king at Easter was in Berkeley, and afterwards at Pentecost he held a great court in Westminster and then in the summer fared into Wales with a fyrd; and the Welsh came to meet him, and they made terms with him after the king's will.

This year the earl of Anjou came from Jerusalem to his land and sent afterwards hither to land and caused his daughter to be fetched who erewhile had been given to William the king's son.

And on the night of the Vigil Natalis Domini was a very great wind over all this land, and that was manifestly visible in many things.

1122 [E]. In this year the king Henry was at Christmas in Norwich and at Easter he was in Northampton.

And in the spring-tide before that the town in

Gloucester was burnt, the while the monks sang the mass and the deacon had begun the gospel Preteriens Jesus. Then came the fire into the upper part of the tower and burnt the whole church and all the treasures that were inside save a few books and three mass-garments; that was on the day viii id. March (Mar. 8th).

And afterwards on the Tuesday after Palm Sunday was a very great wind on the day xi kal. April (Mar. 22nd). Thereafter came many tokens wide and far in England, and many prodigies were seen and heard. And this night viii kal. Aug. (July 25th) was a very great earthquake over all Somersetshire and in Gloucestershire. Afterwards on the day vi id. Sept. (Sept. 8th), that was on St. Mary's mass-day, was a very great wind from nine in the morning till the black night.

This same year died Ralf the archbishop of Canterbury; that was on the day xiii kal. Nov. (Oct. 20th). Thereafter were many sailors on the sea and on [fresh] water, who said that they saw in the north-east a great and broad fire near the earth which grew in length up to the skies; and the skies separated into four parts and fought against it as if it was to quench it, and the fire flamed no more up to heaven. That fire they saw in the day-break, and it lasted so long till it was light over all; that was on the day viii id. Dec. (Dec. 7th).

1123 [E]. In this year at Christmas the king Henry was at Dunstable, and there came the earl's ambassadors of Anjou to him; and thence he fared to Woodstock and his bishops and all his court with him. Then it befell on a Wednesday, that was on iv id. Jan. (Jan. 10th), that the king rode in his park and the bishop Roger of Salisbury on one side of him and the bishop Robert Bloet of Lincoln on the other and rode there discoursing. Then the bishop of Lincoln sank down and said to the king "Lord king, I die," and the king alighted from his horse and lifted him between his arms and caused him to be borne home to his lodging;

and straightway he was dead. And he was carried to Lincoln with great honour and buried before St. Mary's altar; and the bishop of Chester named Robert Pecceth buried him.

Soon thereafter the king sent his writs over all England and bade his bishops and his abbots and his thegns all that they should come to his witenagemot on Candlemas day (Feb. 2nd) to meet him at Gloucester; and so they did. When they were gathered there, the king bade them that they should choose them an archbishop to Canterbury whomsoever they would; and he would approve of it. Then spake the bishops among them and said that never more would they have a man of the monastic order for archbishop over them; but all went together to the king and desired that they might choose a secular clerk for archbishop whomsoever they would; and the king approved of it. All this was done previously by means of the bishop of Salisbury and the bishop of Lincoln ere he was dead, because never had they loved monk's rule but were ever against monks and their rule; and the prior and the monks of Canterbury and all the others who were men of the monastic order there withstood it fully two days. But it availed naught; for the bishop of Salisbury was strong and ruled all England and was against it all that he might and knew. Then they chose a clerk, by name William of Curboil—he was a canon of a monastery named St. Osyth's—and brought him before the king, and the king gave him the archbishopric, and all the bishops received him; monks and earls and thegns, all who were there, opposed him.

In the same time the earl's ambassadors fared with unpeace from the king; nor recked they aught of his gifts.

In the same time came a legate of Rome, whose name was Henry: he was abbot of St. John's monastery of Anieli; and he came after the Rome-scot. And he told the king that it was against right that a clerk should be set over monks, and therefore it was according to right that they had chosen an archbishop

earlier in their chapter-house; but the king would not undo it for love of the bishop of Salisbury. Soon thereafter the archbishop fared to Canterbury and was received there though it were against their will and was straightway blessed there by the bishop of London and the bishop Ernulf of Rochester and the bishop William Giffard of Winchester and the bishop Bernard of Wales and the bishop Roger of Salisbury. Then forthwith in the spring the archbishop fared to Rome after his pall and with him fared the bishop Bernard of Wales and Sigefred abbot of Glastonbury and Anselm abbot of St. Edmund's and John archdeacon of Canterbury and Giffard who was the king's court chaplain.

In the same time fared the archbishop Thurstan of York to Rome at the pope's command and arrived there three days before the archbishop of Canterbury came and was received there with great honour. Then came the archbishop of Canterbury and was there a full seven night ere he might come to speech with the pope; that was because the pope had been made to understand that he had received the archbishopric against the monks of the cathedral and against right. But that overcame Rome which overcomes all the whole world, that is gold and silver; and the pope was appeased and gave him his pall, and the archbishop swore subjection to him on the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul in all the things, which the pope imposed on him, and sent him home then with his blessing.

The while the archbishop was out of the land, the king gave the bishopric of Bath to the queen's chancellor, by name Godfrey; he was born of Louvain: that was on the day of the Annunciation of St. Mary (Mar. 25th) at Woodstock. Soon thereafter the king fared to Winchester and was there all Easter-tide, and the while he was there he gave the bishopric of Lincoln to a clerk named Alexander: he was the bishop's nephew of Salisbury; this he did all for love of the bishop.

Thence the king fared to Portsmouth and lay there all over Pentecost-week. As soon as he had a favourable wind, he fared over into Normandy and entrusted all England to the care and rule of the bishop Roger of Salisbury. Then was the king all this year in Normandy, and great unpeace arose between him and his thegns so that the earl Waleran of Meulan and Amaury and Hugo of Montfort and William of Roumare and many others turned from him and held their castles against him. And the king held vigorous strife with them; and this same year he won from Waleran his castle Pont Audemer and from Hugo Montfort, and after that he prospered the longer the better.

This same year, ere the bishop of Lincoln came to his bishopric, was burnt nearly all the town of Lincoln and a countless number of folk, men and women, were burnt; and so much harm was done there as no one knew how to tell another—that was on the day xiv kal. June (May 19th).

1124. [E]. All this year the king Henry was in Normandy; that was on account of the great unpeace which he had with the king Louis of France and with the earl of Anjou and with his own men most of all.

Then it befell on the day of the Annunciation of St. Mary (Mar. 25th) that the earl Waleran of Meulan fared from one of his castles called Beaumont-le-Roger to another of his castles Vatteville; with him fared the king's steward of France, Amaury, and Hugo son of Gervais and Hugo of Montfort and many other good knights. Then came against them the king's knights from all the castles that were thereabout and fought against them and put them to flight and took the earl Waleran and Hugo son of Gervais and Hugo of Montfort and five and twenty other knights and brought them to the king; and the king caused the earl Waleran and Hugo son of Gervais to be put into prison in the castle in Rouen, and Hugo of Montfort he sent to England and caused him to be put in evil bonds in the castle in Gloucester. And of the

others as many as seemed good to him he sent north and south to his castles to prison. Afterwards the king fared and won all the earl Waleran's castles that were in Normandy and all the others which his foes held against him.

All this unpeace was on account of the earl Robert's son of Normandy named William. This same William had taken earl Fulk's younger daughter of Anjou to wife; and therefore the king of France and all the earls and all the powerful men held with him and said that the king wrongly held his brother Robert in prison and unjustly drove his son William out of Normandy.

This same year was much bad weather in England in corn and in all fruit so that between Christmas and Candlemas (Feb. 2nd) the acre-seed of wheat, that is two baskets of seed, was sold for six shillings and the acre-seed of oats, that is four baskets of seed, for four shillings. That was because there was little corn; and the penny was so bad that the man, who had at a market one pound, might by no means get the value of it for twelve pennies.

In this same year died the blessed bishop Ernulf of Rochester who before was abbot in Peterborough; that was on the day id. March (Mar. 15th). And thereafter died the king Alexander of Scotland on the day ix kal. May (April 23rd); and David his brother, who was earl in Northamptonshire, succeeded to the kingdom and had both together the royal realm in Scotland and the earldom in England. And on the day xix kal. Jan. (Dec. 14th) died the pope in Rome named Calixtus, and Honorius succeeded to the pope-dome.

This same year after St. Andrew's mass (Nov. 30th) before Christmas Ralf Basset and the king's thegns held a witena-gemot in Leicestershire at Hundehog and hanged there so many thieves as never were before: that was four and forty men in that short while; and six men were deprived of their eyes and testicles. Many truthfast men said that there were many punished with great injustice; but our Lord God

Almighty, who sees and knows all secret things, sees that the poor folk are treated with every injustice; first they are bereft of their possessions and then they are slain. A full heavy year it was; the man who had any goods was bereft of them by an oppressive geld and an oppressive court: those who had none died of hunger.

1125 [E]. In this year before Christmas the king Henry sent from Normandy to England and bade that all the moneyers that were in England should be deprived of their limbs: that was the right hand of each of them and their testicles beneath; that was because the man who had a pound might not get the value of a penny at a market. And the bishop Roger of Salisbury sent over all England and bade them all to come to Winchester at Christmas. When they came hither, they were taken one by one, and each deprived of the right hand and of the testicles beneath. All this was done within the twelve nights; and that was all with great justice because they had ruined all the land with their great forgeries—which they all expiated.

In this year the pope of Rome sent to this land a cardinal named John of Crema. He came first to the king in Normandy; and the king received him with great honour, entrusted him then to the archbishop William of Canterbury; and he led him to Canterbury, and he was there received with great honour and with a great procession, and he sang the high mass on Easter-day at Christ's altar. And afterwards he fared over all England to all the bishoprics and abbacies that were in this land, and everywhere he was received with honour, and all gave him great and famous gifts. And afterwards he held his council in London for full three days on the Nativity of St. Mary (Sept. 8th) in September with archbishops and with suffragan bishops and abbots and clergy and laity; and commanded there the same laws which the archbishop Anselm had before commanded and many more though it profited little. And thence he fared over sea soon after Michaelmas and so to Rome; and the archbishop William of Can-

terbury and the archbishop Thurstan of York and the bishop Alexander of Lincoln and the bishop of Lothian, John, and the abbot of St. Albans, Geoffrey, and were there received by the pope Honorius with great honour and were there all the winter.

In this same year was so great a flood on St. Laurentius' mass-day (Aug. 10th) that many villages and men were drowned and bridges broken and corn and meadow utterly ruined and famine and disease among men and cattle; and in all fruits so bad a season as had not been for many years before.

And this same year died the abbot John of Peterborough, on ii id. October (Oct. 14th).

1126 [E]. All this year the king Henry was in Normandy until after autumn; then came he to this land between the Nativity of St. Mary (Sept. 8th) and Michaelmas. With him came the queen and his daughter whom before he had given to the emperor Henry of Lorraine for wife; and he brought with him the earl Waleran and Hugo son of Gervais, and the earl he sent to Bridgenorth to prison, and thence he sent him to Wallingford and Hugo to Windsor and caused him to be placed in strong bonds. And after Michaelmas came the Scots' king David from Scotland hither to land, and the king Henry received him with great honour, and he dwelt all that year in this land.

In this same year the king caused his brother Robert to be taken from the bishop Roger of Salisbury and entrusted him to his son Robert earl of Gloucester and caused him to be led to Bristol and there put in the castle. That was all done through his daughter's counsel and through the Scots' king David, her uncle.

1127 [E]. This year the king Henry held his court at Christmas in Windsor, where was the Scots' king David and the chief clergy and laity that were in England. And there he caused archbishops and bishops and abbots and earls and all the thegns, who were there, to swear [to place] England and Normandy, after his day, in the hands of his daughter Æthelric, who had erewhile been the emperor's wife of Sax-

land; and with her fared her brother Robert earl of Gloucester and Brian, son of the earl Alan Fergant, and caused her to be wedded to the earl's son of Anjou whose name was Geoffrey Martel. Nonetheless all the French and English thought ill of it; but the king did it in order to have peace of the earl of Anjou and help against his nephew William.

This same year in the spring-tide was the earl Charles of Flanders slain in a church by his own men, where he lay and prayed to God before the altar during the mass. And the king of France brought the earl's son William of Normandy and gave him the earldom and the land-folk accepted him; this same William had before taken the earl's daughter of Anjou for wife, but they were afterwards separated on account of consanguinity; that was all done by means of the king Henry of England. Afterwards he took the king's wife's sister of France for wife, and therefore the king gave him the earldom of Flanders.

This same year he gave the abbacy of Peterborough to an abbot named Henry of Poitou who had in his possession the abbacy of St. John of Anieli; and all the archbishops and bishops said that it was against right and that he might not have two abbacies in his possession. But the same Henry caused the king to understand that he had left his abbacy on account of the great unpeace which was in the land and that he did by the counsel and leave of the pope of Rome and of the abbot of Cluny and because he was legate for the Rome-scot. But not any the more was it so; for he would have both in his hands and so had as long as it was God's will. He had been in his clerk-hood bishop in Soissons: afterwards a monk in Cluny and then prior in the same monastery: and afterwards he became prior in Savigny: thereafter, because he was the kinsman of the king of England and of the earl of Poitou, the earl gave him the abbacy of St. John's monastery of Anieli. Afterwards through his great intrigues he got the archbishopric of Besançon and had it in his hands for three days; then he lost it with

right because he had before gotten it with unright; afterwards he got the bishopric of Saintes that was five miles from his abbacy—that he had well-nigh a seven-night in his hands; the abbot of Cluny brought him thence as before he did from Besançon. Then he bethought him that, if he might be firmly established in England, he might have all his will. He then besought the king and said to him that he was an old and broken-down man and that he might not endure the great unright and the great unpeace, which were in their land, and desired through him and through all his friends especially the abbacy of Peterborough; and the king granted it him because he was his kinsman and because he was one of the chief men in swearing oath and bearing witness when the earl's son of Normandy and the earl's daughter of Anjou were separated on account of their consanguinity. Thus miserably was the abbacy given between Christmas and Candlemas (Feb. 2nd) at London; and so he fared with the king to Winchester and thence he came to Peterborough and there he abode exactly as drones do in a hive—all that the bees drag towards them, the drones devour and drag away: so did he: all that he might take, within and without, from clergy and from laity he sent over sea, and did no good there nor left any good there. Let no one think it wonderful what we say for a truth—for it was well known over the whole land—that as soon as he came thither, which was on the Sunday when is sung Exurge quare, O Domine, immediately afterwards many men heard and saw many hunters hunting. The hunters were black and great and hideous and their hounds all black and broad-eyed and hideous and they rode on black horses and on black bucks. This was seen in the very park in the village in Peterborough and in all the woods which stretched from the same village to Stamford and the monks heard the horns blowing which they blew in the night. Truthfast men, observing them at night, said from what it seemed to them that there might well be about twenty or thirty horn-

blowers. This was seen and heard from the time that he came thither—all the spring-tide up to Easter. This was his entrance; of his exit we cannot yet say aught. God provide!

1128 [E]. All this year the king Henry was in Normandy on account of the unpeace which was between him and his nephew the earl of Flanders; but the earl was wounded at a fight by a young man and so wounded he fared to St. Bertin's monastery and straightway became a monk and lived afterwards five days. Then he died and was buried there—may God have mercy on his soul!: that was on the day vi kal. Aug. (July 27th).

This same year died the bishop Ranulf Flambard of Durham and there was buried on the nones Sept. (Sept. 5th).

And this same year fared the above-mentioned abbot Henry to his own monastery in Poitou by the king's leave. He made the king to understand that he would entirely abandon that monastery and that land and dwell with him in England and in the monastery of Peterborough; but it was not any the more so. He did it because he would be there, by his great wiles, were it a twelve-month or more, and then come back. May God almighty have compassion over that wretched place!

This same year came from Jerusalem Hugo of the Knights Templars to the king in Normandy, and the king received him with great honour and gave him many treasures in gold and in silver. And afterwards he sent him to England and there he was received of all good men, and all gave him treasures: and the same in Scotland: and by him was sent to Jerusalem much property withal in gold and in silver. And he summoned folk out to Jerusalem; and there fared with him and after him so many folk as never did before since the first expedition was in the day of pope Urban—though it was not of much profit. He said that a great war was prepared between the christians and the heathen; when they came thither

it was naught but lying; thus miserably were all the folk afflicted.

1129 [8]. In this year the king sent to England after the earl Waleran and after Hugo son of Gervais, and there they gave hostages for themselves; and Hugo went home to his own land in France and Waleran remained with the king, and the king gave him all his land save one of his castles. Afterwards the king came to England in the autumn and the earl came with him and then they became as good friends as before they were foes.

Then straightway by the king's counsel and by his leave the archbishop William of Canterbury sent over all England and bade bishops and abbots and archdeacons and all the priors, monks and canons that were in all the cells in England and after all who had to take care of and look after Christendom—that they should all come to London at Michaelmas and there should speak of all God's laws. When they came thither, the council began on Monday and held on until the Friday. When it all came forth, the whole question turned on archdeacons' wives and priests' wives—that they should abandon them by St. Andrew's mass (Nov. 30th); and he who would not do so should lose his church and his house and his home and never more have any claim thereto. This bade the archbishop William of Canterbury and all the suffragan bishops who were in England; and the king gave them all leave to go home. And so they went home and all the decrees were of no avail; all held their wives by the king's leave as before they had done.

This same year died the bishop William Giffard of Winchester and was buried there on viii kal. Feb. (Jan. 25th); and the king Henry gave the bishopric after Michaelmas to the abbot Henry his nephew of Glastonbury. And he was consecrated bishop by the archbishop William of Canterbury on the day xv kal. Dec. (Nov. 17th).

This same year died pope Honorius. Before he were well dead, there were chosen two popes; the one

was named Peter—he was a monk of Cluny and was born of the richest men of Rome: with him held those of Rome and the duke of Sicily. The other was named Gregory—he was a clerk and was driven out of Rome by the other pope and his kinsmen; with him held the Emperor of Saxland and the king of France and the king Henry of England and all on this side of the mountains. Now was so much heresy in Christendom as it never was before; may Christ impart counsel for his wretched folk!

This same year on St. Nicholas' mass-night, a little ere day, was a great earthquake.

1130 [E]. This year the church of Canterbury was consecrated by the archbishop William on the day iv nones May (May 4th). There were the bishops John of Rochester, Gilbert Universal of London, Henry of Winchester, Alexander of Lincoln, Roger of Salisbury, Simon of Worcester, Roger of Coventry, Godfrey of Bath, Everard of Norwich, Sigefred of Chichester, Bernard of St. David's, Audoenus of Evreux from Normandy, John of Sééz.

The fourth day thereafter the king Henry was in Rochester, and nearly the whole town was burnt; and the archbishop William consecrated St. Andrew's church and the aforesaid bishops with him; and the king Henry fared over sea into Normandy in the autumn.

The same year came the abbot Henry of Anieli after Easter to Peterborough and said that he had entirely abandoned the monastery [abroad]. After him came the abbot of Cluny, by name Peter, to England by the king's leave and was received everywhere where-soever he came with great honour. To Peterborough he came and there the abbot Henry promised him that he would get for him the monastery of Peterborough that it should be subject to Cluny; but it is said for a proverb—hedge abides that fields divides. May God Almighty frustrate the evil counsels! And soon thereafter the abbot of Cluny went home to his country.

1131 [E]. This year after Christmas on the evening of

Sunday, at the first sleep, the heaven was all as if it were burning fire, on the north side, so that all who saw it were so afeared as never they had been before: that was on iii Id. Jan. (Jan. 11th). This same year was so great a murrain of cattle as never before was in the memory of man over all England, that was in neat and in swine, so that in the village, where there were ten or twelve ploughs going, not one was left; and to the man who had two hundred or three hundred swine not one was left. Thereafter died the hens; then meat and cheese and butter ran short. May God amend it when it is his will!

And the king Henry came home to England before autumn after the former mass of St. Peter (Aug. 1st).

The same year the abbot Henry before Easter fared from Peterborough over sea to Normandy and there spoke with the king and told him that the abbot of Cluny had commanded him to come to him and commit to him the abbacy of Anieli; and afterwards he would come home by his leave. And so he went home to his own monastery and dwelt there until midsummer day. And the second day after St. John's mass-day (June 26th) the monks chose an abbot of themselves and brought him into church with processions, sung *Te Deum Laudamus*, rang the bells, set him on the abbot's seat, did him all obedience as they should do to their abbot; and the earl and all the chief men and the monks of the monastery drove the other abbot Henry out of the monastery. They had need; in five and twenty winters never did they experience one good day. Here failed him all his great crafts; now it behoved him to creep into every corner of his big bag [to see] if there were at least one wretched trick by which he might once more deceive Christ and all christian folk. Then he fared to Cluny, and there he was held so that he might not go either east or west. The abbot of Cluny said that they had lost St. John's monastery through him and his great folly. Then he knew of no better compensation for him but promised them and swore oaths on relics

that if he might visit England he should get for them the monastery of Peterborough—so that he should place there a prior from Cluny and a churchwarden and a treasurer and a keeper of the wardrobe, and all the things which were within and without the monastery he should commit all to them. Thus he fared into France and there dwelt all the year. May Christ provide for the wretched monks of Peterborough and for the wretched stead; now stand they in need of the help of Christ and of all christian folk!

1132 [E]. This year king Henry came to this land; then came abbot Henry and accused the monks of Peterborough to the king because he would subject the monastery to Cluny, so that the king was well-nigh deceived and sent after the monks; and through the mercy of God and through the bishop of Salisbury and the bishop of Lincoln and the other powerful men, who were there, then the king knew that he went with treachery. When he might no more, then he would that his nephew should be abbot in Peterborough; but Christ would it not. It was not very long thereafter that the king sent after him and caused him to give up the abbacy of Peterborough and to fare out of the land; and the king gave the abbacy to a prior of St. Neot's, by name Martin—he came on St. Peter's mass-day with great honour into the monastery.

1135 [E]. In this year the king Henry fared over sea at Lammas (Aug. 1st); and the second day, as he lay asleep aboard ship, the day darkened over all lands, and the sun became as if it were a three-night old moon, and the stars were about it at midday.

Men were greatly wonder-struck and frightened and said that a great thing should happen thereafter; and so it did; for the same year the king was dead on the day following St. Andrew's mass-day (Dec. 2nd) in Normandy. Then was treason in these lands; for every man that might robbed another. Then his son and his friends took and brought his body to England and buried it in Reading. A good man he was and

there was much awe of him. No man dared transgress against another in his time. Peace he made for men and beasts. Whoso bare his burden of gold and silver, no man dared say to him naught but good.

Meanwhile the nephew was come to England, Stephen de Blois, and came to London; and the London folk received him and sent after the archbishop William Curboil and consecrated him king on midwinter day. In this king's time was all unpeace and evil and robbery; for against him rose straightway the powerful men who were traitors. First of all was Baldwin de Redvers and held Exeter against him; and the king besieged it and afterwards Baldwin made terms. Then the others took and held their castles against him, and David king of Scotland took to warring on him. Notwithstanding that, their ambassadors fared between them and they came together and were reconciled—though it availed little.

1137 [E]. This year the king Stephen fared over sea to Normandy and there was received because they supposed that he would be as his uncle was and because he had got his treasure; but he distributed it and scattered it foolishly. Much gold and silver had king Henry gathered; and no good was done for his soul therewith.

When the king Stephen came to England, he held his assembly at Oxford and there he arrested the bishop Roger of Salisbury and his nephews Alexander bishop of Lincoln and the chancellor Roger and put all into prison till they gave up their castles. When the traitors perceived that he was a mild man and soft and good and did no justice, then did they all do terrible things. They had done him homage and sworn oaths; but they held no faith. All of them were forsworn and their pledges forsaken; for every powerful man made his castles and held them against him; and they filled the land full of castles. They oppressed greatly the wretched men of the land with the making of castles; when the castles were made, they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they seized those

men, who they supposed had any possessions, both by night and by day, men and women, and put them into prison for their gold and silver and tortured them with unspeakable tortures—never were any martyrs so tortured as they were. They were hung up by the feet and smoked with foul smoke; they were hung by the thumbs or by the head, and fires were hung on their feet. They put knotted strings about their heads and twisted them until it went to the brain. They put them into prisons wherein were adders and snakes and toads and killed them so. Some they put into a torture-house, that is, in a chest which was short and narrow and shallow and put sharp stones therein and pressed the man inside so that they broke all his limbs. In many of the castles were a “lof and grin” (instruments of torture) which were fetters, one of which two or three men had enough to bear. That was so made: it was fastened to a beam, and they put a sharp iron about the man’s throat and his neck so that he might not, in any direction, sit or lie or sleep, but must bear the whole iron. Many thousands they killed with hunger.

I neither can nor may tell all the horrors and all the tortures that they did to the wretched men in this land. And it lasted the nineteen winters while Stephen was king; and ever it was worse and worse. They laid gelds on the villages from time to time and called it “Tenserie”; when the wretched men had no more to give, they robbed and burnt all the villages so that you might well go a whole day’s journey and you would never find a man occupying a village or land being tilled. Then was corn dear and meat and cheese and butter; because there was none in the land. Wretched men starved of hunger; some went seeking alms who at one time were rich men; others fled out of the land.

There was never yet greater wretchedness in the land; and never did heathen men worse than they did. For too frequently they did not even abstain from churches and churchyards, but took all the property

that was therein; and afterwards burnt the church and all together. Nor did they abstain from bishop's land or abbot's or priest's, but robbed monks and clerks; and every man another who anywhere might. If two men or three came riding to a village, all the township fled before them, supposing them to be robbers. The bishops and clergy cursed them ever, but it was naught to them; for they were all accursed and forsworn and lost.

Wheresoever men tilled, the earth bare no corn, for the land was all ruined by such deeds; and they said openly that Christ and his saints were asleep. Such and more than we can say we endured nineteen winters for our sins.

In all this evil time abbot Martin held his abbacy twenty winters and a half year and eight days with great trouble and found the monks and the guests all that behoved them and held much cheer in the house; and notwithstanding, added to the church and settled thereon lands and rents and richly endowed it and built a roof to it and brought them into the new monastery on St. Peter's mass-day with much honour; that was anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXL a combustione loci xxiii. And he fared to Rome and there was well received by the pope Eugenius and obtained there privileges: one for all the lands of the abbacy and another for the lands which lie near the church-offices and, if he might have lived longer, he was minded to do the same for the treasurer's offices. And he got back the lands which powerful men held by force—from William Malduit, who held the castle of Rockingham, he won Cottingham and Easton; and from Hugo of Walteuile he won Irthlingborough and Stanwick; and from Aldwinkle sixty shillings each year. And he made many monks and planted vineyards and made many works and rendered the village better than it was before, and was good monk and good man, and therefore God and good men loved him.

Now we will tell some part of what happened in

king Stephen's reign. In his time the Jews of Norwich bought a christian child before Easter and tormented him with all the same torments, with which our Lord was tormented, and on Good Friday hanged him on a rood in love¹ of our Lord and afterwards buried him. They imagined that it would be kept concealed; but our Lord showed that he was a holy martyr. And the monks took him and buried him solemnly in the church, and he wrought through our Lord wonderful and manifold miracles, and he was called St. William.

1138 [E]. In this year came David king of Scotland with an immense fyrd to this land; he would conquer this land. And against him came William earl of Albemarle, to whom the king had entrusted York, and two other chiefs, with few men, and fought against them and put the king to flight at the standard and made a great slaughter of his band.

1140 [E]. In this year the king Stephen would seize Robert earl of Gloucester, son of the king Henry; but he might not, for he was aware of it.

Thereafter in the spring the sun and the day darkened about noon-tide when men eat; then men lighted candles to eat by and that was xiii kal. April (Mar. 20th); men were greatly wonder-struck.

Thereafter died William archbishop of Canterbury and the king made Theobald archbishop, who was abbot in Bec.

Thereafter arose a very great war between the king and Randolf earl of Chester because he did not give him all that he could ask of him as he did to all others; but ever the more he gave to them, the worse they were to him. The earl held Lincoln against the king and took from him all that he ought to have, and the king fared thither and besieged him and his brother William de Ronmare in the castle, and the earl stole out and fared after Robert earl of Gloucester and brought him thither with a great fyrd, and they fought

¹ Thorpe suggests "hatred"; love is certainly a mistake.

strenuously on Candlemas day (Feb. 2nd) against their lord and captured him—for his men betrayed him and fled—and led him to Bristol and put him there into prison and fetters. Then was all England disturbed more than it was before, and every evil was in the land.

Thereafter came the king Henry's daughter, who had been empress in Germany, and now was countess in Anjou, and came to London, and the London folk would seize her; and so she fled and lost much there.

Thereafter the bishop of Winchester, Henry the king Stephen's brother, spoke with earl Robert and with the empress and swore oaths to them that he would hold never more with the king his brother and cursed all the men, who held with him, and told them that he would give up Winchester to them; and he caused them to come hither. When they were therein, came the king's queen with all her force and besieged them; there was great hunger therein. When they might no longer endure, they stole out and fled; and they without were aware and followed them and captured Robert earl of Gloucester and led him to Rochester and put him there into prison; and the empress fled to a monastery. Then went the wise men between the king's friends and the earl's friends and brought about an agreement by which the king should be let out of prison in exchange for the earl and the earl in exchange for the king; and so they did.

And after that the king and earl Randolf were reconciled at Stamford and swore oaths and confirmed pledges that neither should betray the other; but it was of no avail. For the king afterwards arrested him in Northampton, through wicked counsel, and put him into prison and again let him out, through worse counsel, on the condition that he swore on relics and found hostages that he should surrender all his castles. Some he surrendered and others he surrendered not and then did worse than he should.

Then was England very divided; some held with

the king and others with the empress. For when the king was in prison, the earls and the powerful men imagined that never more would he come out; and they made peace with the empress and brought her to Oxford and gave her the town. When the king was out, this he heard say and took his fyrd and besieged her in the tower; and she was let down in the night from the tower with ropes and stole out and so fled and went on foot to Wallingford.

Thereafter she fared over sea and they of Normandy all turned from the king to the earl of Anjou—some voluntarily and others against their will, for he besieged them till they surrendered their castles; and they had no help from the king.

Then fared Eustace the king's son to France and took the king's sister of France for wife, thinking to get possession of Normandy therethrough; but he succeeded little—and by good right, for he was an evil man. For wheresoever he came, he did more evil than good; he robbed the lands and imposed great gelds. He brought his wife to England and put her in the castle in Canterbury. A good woman she was, but she had little bliss with him and Christ would not that he should reign long; he died and his mother also.

And the earl of Anjou died and his son Henry took to the realm; and the queen of France separated from the king and she came to the young earl Henry; and he took her to wife and all Poitou with her. Then he fared with a great fyrd into England and won castles, and the king fared against him with a much greater fyrd: however they did not fight. But the archbishop and the wise men went between them and made the agreement that the king should be lord and king while he lived and after his day Henry should be king. And the latter held him for father, and Stephen him for son; and peace and concord should be between them and in all England. This and the other agreements, which they made, the king and the earl swore to hold and the bishops and the earls and all the

powerful men. Then was the earl received at Winchester and at London with great honour, and all did him homage and swore to hold the peace; and straightway it became very good peace such as never was here. Then was the king stronger than he ever was before; and the earl fared over sea and all folk loved him because he did good justice and made peace.

1154 [E]. In this year the king Stephen died and was buried where his wife and his son were buried at Faversham—the monastery which they founded. When the king was dead, the earl was beyond sea and no one dared do other but good, for the great fear of him. When he came to England, he was received with great honour and blessed as king in London on the Saturday before midwinter day; and there he held a great court.

The same day that Martin abbot of Peterborough should fare thither, he sickened and died iv nones Jan. (Jan. 2nd) and the monks within a day chose another from themselves, whose name was William de Walteuile—a good clerk and a good man and well loved of the king and of all good men; and they buried the abbot solemnly in a church. And straightway the chosen abbot fared and the monks [with him to] the king at Oxford; [and he] gave him the abbacy. And he fared straightway [to Lincoln] and was [there blessed as] abbot ere he came home; and [afterwards] he was received [with great honour at] Peterborough and with a great procession; and so he also at Ramsey and at Thorney and at . . . and Spalding and Salisbury and . . . and¹ [now is] abbot and . . .¹

¹ The MS. at this point is both mutilated and defaced. The words in brackets are more or less conjectural.

NOTES

PAGE 1. The genealogy, here given, of the royal family of Wessex agrees in the main with the long pedigree of Æthelwulf inserted in the Chronicle at the date 855. But besides these two authorities there are fragments under the years 552, 597, 611, 648, 674, 676, 685, 688, 728; and it is not easy in every case to reconcile these scattered lists with the two principal genealogies or with one another. Of the origin of these divergencies Mr. Plummer says: "It will be seen that of many of the West-Saxon kings the writer of the Parker Preface is content to say 'their kin goes back to Cerdic,' but he did not profess to know the exact relationship. The compilers of the Chronicle, when they came to deal with the reigns of these kings, were not always content to acquiesce in this wise ignorance, and tried to frame a genealogy for some of them; but having no fixed tradition to guide them, were at variance with themselves and with the main genealogies."

In a comparison of the Preface with the main Chronicle, we notice, firstly, that the former puts the invasion of Cerdic and Cynric in 494, while the latter places it in 495; and, secondly, while the Chronicle dates the foundation of the kingdom of Wessex as late as 519, in the Preface we read "six years after they landed, they conquered the kingdom of the West-Saxons," *i.e.* about the year 500. Again, the interval which the Preface places between the conquest of Wessex and Alfred's succession, 396 years, is of course too long. These are not very serious matters; but what seems at first sight unaccountable is the fact that the Preface should omit altogether the long reign of Ceawlin, to whom the Chronicle allots thirty-one years. With regard to this Mr. Plummer says: "Ceawlin's name seems to have been written Ceolwin, then abbreviated to Ceol; this gave two Ceols apparently reigning in succession. To the scribe of the Parker MS. this was most certainly wrong; so he omitted the former Ceol (= Ceawlin)."

MS. C of the Chronicle is preceded by a poem—if poem it may be called—of three hundred lines. It consists of two parts: (i) a sort of metrical calendar; (ii) a collection of proverbial sayings or gnomic verses.

P. 3. The description of Britain from the Laud MS. is taken from Bede's "Ecclesiastical History" (I, i); it is found in three MSS. (D, E, F).

Scythia.—The tradition that either the Picts or the Scots—for the legends deal with both races—came from Scythia is a widespread one; possibly it arose from an attempt to identify "Scotti" and "Scythae." Bede, however, uses the latter term for the inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula.

418 [A]. This looks like an old tradition; possibly referring to the wealth of Roman Britain. No authority has been found for the statement, though several hoards of Roman and Romano-British coins have been found in this island. "The late Lord Selborne counted 29,773 . . . in two vases found in Selborne parish." See White's "Selborne," ed. F. Buckland (1880), p. 452. Such finds along Roman roads may have given rise to the frequent name "Silver-street."—Earle.

449 [A]. Cf. Bede's account of the coming of the Jutes, Angles and Saxons, I, 15. The mention of Ebbsfleet as the place of landing is entirely independent of Bede. It is necessary to point out here that the Northumbrian historian does not profess to give the exact date of the invasion; hence such expressions as "circiter," "quorum tempore" (referring to the reigns of Marcian and Valentinian, Emperors).

473 [A]. This marks the final conquest of Kent. The Wippedsfleet of 465 A has not been identified yet.

477 [A]. The coming of the South Saxons.—Of the history of Sussex our records are remarkably scanty. No list of its kings, no genealogy of its royal family is known. Indeed the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle only mentions Ælla, Cissa his son and Æthelwald, who was the godson of Wulfhere of Mercia, and to whom that king gave the Isle of Wight (see 661 A). Bede (IV, 15) relates the death of the last-mentioned monarch in 685 at the hands of Ceadwalla of Wessex. Ceadwalla, however, was driven out by the "king's aldormen," Andhun and Berthun; and this is the last authentic record of Sussex as an independent kingdom. In the Chronicle, under the year 710, we read that "Ine (King of Wessex) and Nun his kinsman fought against Geraint king of the Welsh." This is probably the "rex Suthsaxonum," whose name appears at the foot of several charters (see Birch's "Cartularium Saxonicum," 78, 132, 144, 145; and Kemble's "Codex Diplomaticus," 995, 999-1001). These charters, says Stubbs in the "Dictionary of Christian Biography," "in their present condition are of uncertain date and questionable authenticity." We have a few others with the names of Wattus, Osmund, Ealdwulf, Ealhweald, Osweald, Æthelbert, Oslac attached—all as "rex" or "dux Suthsaxonum" (692-780); while Florence of Worcester mentions, under 758, Osmund, king of the South Saxons. That is all.

The early disappearance of Sussex as an independent king-

dom can probably be attributed to its geographical position, hemmed in, as it was, between Kent, Wessex and the Andredsweald. This, at any rate, is given as the reason for the late survival of paganism among the South-Saxons. It is the more remarkable because Ælle, the founder of the kingdom, evidently occupied a large space in the traditions of the conquest. Bede makes him the first of the Bretwaldas; see the Chronicle, 827, which accepts Bede's statement. It is to be observed that Ælle is not credited with any long line of ancestors reaching back to Woden (Searle's "Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings and Nobles"). The probable reason is that his dynasty was too short-lived to be remembered.

491 [A]. The Roman Anderida—site uncertain. It should be noted that the total destruction of the British defenders is evidently mentioned as an exceptional feature of the capture.

495 [A]. The coming of the West-Saxons.—Compare the name Cerdic with the Welsh Ceredig, Cereticus. Ceadwalla is perhaps another instance of this "Welsh influence."

501 [A]. An example of ætiology. Portsmouth is really the mouth of the port (Latin *portus* = a harbour).

519 [A]. Stubbs says: "The Saxons had no kings at home, but they created kingdoms in Britain. . . . According to the Chronicle, in A.D. 443, the Brito-Welsh invited to Britain the athelings of the Angles; in A.D. 449, under two 'heretogas,' Hengist and Horsa, the strangers came; in A.D. 455 Hengist and Æsc, his son, came to the kingdom. In A.D. 495 came two 'aldormen' to Britain, Cerdic and Cynric; and in A.D. 519 they became kings of the West-Saxons."

544 [A]. This entry shows that Wightgar is a mere abstraction to account for the place-name; Wightgaraburg means literally the burgh of the Wight-dwellers ("Wightgara"); cf. 501. This throws light on the historical value of some of the traditions of the conquest.

547 [A]. This is by anticipation; Ida founded the kingdom of Bernicia. The beginning of Deira is marked by Ælle's accession in 560. The eventual union of the two countries under the dynasty of Ida produced the great kingdom of the Northumbrians; hence the confusion of later historians, who invariably speak of Ida as the first king of Northumbria—the which is a plain anachronism.

560 [A]. See the note above.

568 [A]. This is the first record of strife among the invading tribes themselves.

577 [A]. The battle of Dyrham is one of the most important in the annals of the conquest. It separated the Britons of Wales from their countrymen of Cornwall, Devon and Somerset. The Welsh—as now they can be rightly termed—never recovered from the blow, though there seems to be some evidence for attempts thereat, cf. 592, the defeat of Ceawlin at the battle at Woddes-

- beorg, in which the Britons most certainly had a hand (Green's "The Making of England," pp. 207, 208).
- 584 [A]. The last few words of this annal show that the ultimate result was unfavourable to Ceawlin. The Britons (or Welsh) probably realized the consequences of the battle of Dyrham, and tried in vain to remedy them (see the note above).
- 607 [A]. The battle of Chester—the true date of which is either 613 or 616 (see Bede, II, 2)—is as important in its results as the battle of Dyrham. It separated for ever the Britons of Wales from those of Cumbria and Strathclyde.
- 634 [A]. This is taken from Bede (III, 1), who is giving an account of events in Northumbria after king Edwin's death. Osric and Eanfrith seemingly abandoned the christian faith; and betook themselves to paganism. "But soon after the king of the Britons, Cadwalla, the unrighteous instrument of rightful vengeance, slew them both . . . To this day, that year is looked upon as ill-omened and hateful to all good men; as well as on account of the apostacy of the English kings, who had renounced the mysteries of the faith, as of the outrageous tyranny of the British king. Hence it has been generally agreed, in reckoning the dates of the kings (of Northumbria) to abolish the memory of those faithless monarchs and to assign that year to the reign of the following king, Oswald, a man beloved of God."—Miss Sellar's translation, pp. 134, 135; Bell and Sons.
- 643 [A]. This is a description, not a date; for at this time Cenwalh was a heathen.
- P. 24, "pledge-brother."—There are several examples of this primitive custom in the Icelandic Sagas, *e.g.*, the sagas of the Foster-brothers, of Gisli the Outlaw, of Thorstein Vikingsson, of Egil and Asmund, etc.
- P. 25, "after his earls."—This word alone stamps this document as a forgery. In the sense meant here (= aldorman) it represents the Scandinavian "jarl," and only came in with the Danish conquests.
- 664 [A]. The omission of any reference to the important Synod of Whitby is remarkable.
- 672 [A]. The history of Wessex is most obscure at this point in its history. Bede omits Sexburg's "reign"; he says "when Cenwalh . . . died, the sub-kings took upon them the government of the nation, and dividing it amongst themselves, held it for about ten years. . . . Ceadwalla, having subdued and removed the sub-kings, took upon himself the supreme authority."—Miss Sellar's translation, p. 241. Queen Sexburg's participation in the struggle for power was probably due to the fact that, after her husband's death, she had possession of the royal treasure and thus would be able for a while to command the thegns and retainers of the dead king. No prince of the royal house seems to have been famous or popular enough to receive immediate and unanimous election; hence several aspirants to

the vacant throne—aldormen or sub-kings—came forward. The personal followers—or “comitatus”—of Cenwalh were probably divided amongst themselves. In this confusion for one year Sexburg “played her part.” There is no reason why we should place any reliance in the sentimental deduction of William of Malmesbury regarding her great virtues and ability. The probability is that, after Sexburg’s withdrawal, several princes assumed the title of king in Wessex; hence the confusion and errors of the later historians.

685 [A]. Eadric succeeded Hlothhere on the throne of Kent. He was the son of the previous king Egbert, Hlothhere’s elder brother. According to Bede (IV, 26) Hlothhere was slain “in battle with the South-Saxons, whom Eadric . . . had raised against him.” Eadric’s connection with the South-Saxons is peculiar; William of Malmesbury speaks of an “Eadric, the successor of Æthelwald,” king of Sussex, who died in 685. Possibly Sussex had sunk at this time into a mere appendage on Kent (see note on 477); it is by no means unlikely, considering the greatness of the early kings of the Kentishmen and the small part played by Sussex in the history of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. In 710 her allegiance was apparently transferred to Wessex—again a not unlikely event.

P. 34, “until Wilfrid returned.” This is the second restoration of Wilfrid I, the famous archbishop of York.

686 [A]. The fourth Peterborough insertion.

688 [A]. Ceadwalla abdicated, assumed the tonsure, journeyed to Rome and died the next year. In 728 Ine follows the example of his predecessor.

694 [A]. Wihtried’s grant of privileges to the Church is inserted in MS. F (Cott. Domit. A, viii), assigned to the end of the eleventh century.

709 [A]. Upon the death of Hædde, the bishopric of the West-Saxons “was divided into two dioceses. One of them was given to Daniel, which he governs to this day; the other to Aldhelm wherein he presided most vigorously for years” (Sellar’s “Bede, V, 18).

716 [A]. “the right Easter.” This refers to the celebrated division between the Roman and the Celtic churches on the questions of the shape of the tonsure and the right calculation of Easter. It is easy to understand how important these two matters to England of the seventh century and how uninteresting to us of the twentieth. Owing to the different quarters from which the Anglo-Saxons had received their Christianity, the religious map of the country was divided thus: Kent, Wessex, East Anglia, followed the Roman faith; Bernicia was the stronghold of the Celtic influence; Deira, Essex, and Mercia being less firm in their attachment to the Celts. The whole question was settled in 664 at the Synod of Whitby by the practical Oswy, king of the Northumbrians.

- 722 [A]. Here we see the South-Saxons supporting an opponent of the king of Wessex (see notes under 477 and 685).
- 729 [A]. Ceolwulf is the king to whom Bede dedicated his Ecclesiastical History.
- 737 [A]. Eadbert was the last great king of Northumbria. It is curious to note the hazardous uncertainty of the throne of the Northumbrians. Even the greatest of their monarchs had comparatively short reigns, e.g., Æthelfrith, Edwin, Oswald. Oswy, it is true, ruled from 642 to 671; compare with this single achievement the long reigns of Ceawlin, Cynegils, Cenwalh, Ine, Cynewulf, Egbert—all kings of Wessex; Penda, Æthelred, Æthelbald, Offa—kings of Mercia; Æthelbert, Eadbald, Wihtred—kings of Kent; Sigebert, Sælfred, Sigeric—kings of Essex. But the history of Northumbria is peculiar in many respects; it is always quite different from the rest of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.
- 742 [A]. This Synod of Clovesho must not be confounded with the famous Council of Clovesho in 747—not mentioned in the Chronicle.
- 754 [A]. With this year begins the chronological dislocation in the Chronicle; of which Mr. Plummer says "that from about the middle of the eighth to the middle of the ninth century there is a chronological dislocation running through all extant Chronicles, a majority of the events which can be tested proving to be two years and some . . . three years behind the true chronology. . . . This dislocation is purely mechanical, and is due to the scribe passing over now and again (as may easily be done) some blank annal against which nothing is recorded. . . . The mistake was due to a copyist, and not to the original compiler of this part of the Chronicle . . . we have evidence of the existence of a Chronicle in which this dislocation had not taken place."
- 755 [A]. This is "The oldest historical prose in any Teutonic language. The style is of the rudest, contrasting remarkably with the polished language of the later portions of the Chronicle—abrupt, disconnected, obscure and full of anacoluthons"; according to Sweet. It is very likely contemporary with the events it describes. Insertion in the Chronicle has saved it from destruction.

The poverty of the English language in demonstrative pronouns, as compared with the Latin "hic, ille, is, iste, ipse," appears very strongly in the latter portion of the narrative, and makes it very difficult to translate. To understand fully this tragic story, the reader must bear in mind the arrangements of a Saxon house. "The chief building was the *hall*, around which were grouped the other apartments each entered from the court; the whole surrounded by a *wall* . . . and therefore named a *burg*. The common external entrance was the *gate*, which was an opening in the *wall*; but the entrance to any of the enclosed buildings was a *door*. . . . The king was in the lady's chamber

. . . and Cynehard surprised him there by riding in unexpectedly through the outer *gate* into the court, before the king's attendants, who had retired to the *hall*, were aware. Then the fight between the king and his foe takes place at the *door* of the lady's chamber, and there the king was slain. And now the lady's screams had, for the first time, alarmed the king's guards in the hall. They hastened to the rescue . . . and fought till all but one were slain."—Earle.

765 [A]. *I.e.*, on the abdication—probably forced—of Æthelwald Moll.

777 [A]. This is the fifth of the Peterborough insertions. The shilling, in Anglo-Saxon times, was not a coin, but merely money of account, consisting of a varying number of pence.

780 [A]. The "man" so indefinitely mentioned, who was sent to Rome for Eanbald's pallium, was no other than the famous Alcwin, head of the great school for ecclesiastics attached to the church of York. It was on this journey that he first met Charles the great, king of the Franks, at Parma (spring, 781). In 782 he fared back to France, and took up his abode at the king's court. Charles himself was his first scholar and always remained his firm friend. Alcwin died in 804.

782 [A]. This Cynewulf, bishop of Lindisfarne, is probably the poet of the same name; though there is no direct historical evidence to prove this fact, it is a most reasonable conjecture—see an interesting paper by Carleton F. Brown in "Englische Studien." Whether this is true biography or not, it is important to note that the greatest of the Anglo-Saxon poets—the author of "Elene"—was most certainly a Northumbrian, who lived in the second half of the eighth century.

784 [A]. Here, in chronological order, comes the mention of the death of Cynewulf of Wessex, the details of which have been given in 755. The two lines referring to Kent are from MS. F—undoubtedly a Canterbury book. The history of Kent is very obscure towards the end of its existence as an independent kingdom.

785 [A]. This refers to Offa's establishment of an archbishopric at Lichfield; his purpose was to make Mercia independent, ecclesiastically as well as politically. His power must have been great to have brought about such a change in the established order of things. His successor, Cenwulf, in 803, voluntarily restored all the metropolitan rights of the see of Canterbury. The coronation of Egferth in the lifetime of his father, Offa, is an interesting fact.

787 [A]. Note that in the Chronicle "Northmen" and "Danes" are convertible terms.

791 [A]. Baldwulf was the last Anglian bishop of Whiterne.

792 [A]. Ælfled was a daughter of Offa.

798 [A]. This refers to a conspiracy against the reigning king, Eardwulf; cf. Simeon of Durham, ii, 59 (Rolls Series). The

Heardbert of this annal is presumably the man of the same name mentioned in 778.

804 [A]. On this occasion the English bishops protested against the papal attempts to force archbishops to go to Rome for their pallis. This is curious, because the pilgrimage to Rome seems to have exercised a great fascination over the leaders—lay as well as ecclesiastical—of the Anglo-Saxon peoples.

806 [A]. Eardwulf appealed to emperor and pope and was by them restored to his throne (808-810). No native account of this remarkable interference exists, I believe; but Charlemagne's interest in the affairs of Northumbria is well attested. It doubtless arose through the emperor's connection with Alcwin, though in this case we cannot attribute his action to his friend's influence because Alcwin died in 804 (see note on 780).

812 [A]. The true date of Charlemagne's death is 814 (see note on 754). Note that there were two bishops of the West-Saxons. The country was divided into two dioceses on the death of Hædde (see the year 709); thus both Cynebert of Winchester (mentioned in 799) and Wigbert of Sherborne—of this annal—bear the same title, "bishop of the West Saxons."

823 [A]. "For formerly they had been wrongly forced away from his kin." This has caused much difficulty to historians. What possible hereditary claim had the West-Saxon king to these four countries? Mr. Plummer thinks the sentence applies only to Kent, which according to the annal 784 of the Chronicle had for king Ealhmund, the father of Egbert. If this is so, he must have died or abdicated in 796 because we find Eadbert Præn reigning in that year (794 of the Chronicle presumably is equivalent to 796 of true chronology). It is interesting to note here that Henry of Huntingdon writes of Præn as "cognatus" of Egbert; on what authority I do not know. If Henry of Huntingdon is to be trusted—which is very unlikely—Eadbert may have succeeded Ealhmund on the Kentish throne. But the whole story of the connection of Egbert's family with the crown of Kent sounds untrue; very likely its origin is to be traced to the statement of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under discussion. For if Ealhmund had been one time king of Kent, why should he sign himself "Ealhmund princeps" (in 796?) at the bottom of a grant of land by king Berhtic (Birch's *Cart. Sax.* 282).

The probability is that the phrase of the Chronicle refers simply to the sympathies of the four countries. For sixty or seventy years Mercia had dominated the south and east of England; in the case of Præn she had not hesitated to deal harshly with what seems to have been a national attempt at revolt. The consequence was that Wessex was the only hope of the men of Kent and Surrey, the East and South-Saxons; her king was the only one who could withstand the hated yoke of the Mercians, and when Egbert overthrew king Beornwulf and his nominee Baldred men turned to welcome the West-Saxon

deliverer—cf. the East-Anglian “dread of the Mercians.” Of Baldred (? 805-823) it is interesting to note that there exist no charters granted or even witnessed by him; we have several charters dealing with Kent after the death of Cuthred (804 or 805), but all are signed by Cenwulf, Ceolwulf or Beornwulf, kings of Mercia (Birch's *Cart. Sax.*, 326, 328, 335, 339, 340, 341, 343, 344, 346, 348, 353, 358, 370, 372, 373).

N.B.—At the end of the eighth century none of the smaller kingdoms in England seemed to have aimed at complete independence; their hope lay rather in a sort of local self-government, under a sub-king. All recognized the three great powers of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria.

827. “Midwinter” is the regular word for Christmas in the Chronicle up to 1066. After the Conquest the modern word “Christmas” comes in and gradually prevails (see 763).

“Bretwalda,” without doubt, means *Wielder of Britain* (see Plummer, II, p. 73), not “wide wielder,” as has been suggested. The power of the Bretwalda was probably of a more definite character than is recognized; for instance, Æthelbert of Kent could guarantee the safety of persons under his protection at the farthest limits of English territory. The fact that Ælle, who began to reign in Sussex as early as 477, was the first holder of the title, suggests that the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons was not carried out by hordes of barbarians acting independently of one another. Mr. Chadwick, in “The Origin of the English Nation,” p. 12, says: “It seems to me incredible that such a project as the invasion of Britain could have been carried out successfully except by large and organized forces.” I do not think that there was much capacity of organization amongst the early English; but that they came under the definite leadership of one famous man, and with the avowed object of conquering Britain, seems to me most probable. The rapid rise of Kent and Northumbria to a distinctly civilized level proves that the invaders were a long way advanced on the path of human progress. The Bretwaldaship is in no way inconsistent with the number of petty kingdoms, immediately established in England. Ælle had no notion of being the only king in England; the same may even be said of Egbert of Wessex. Amongst primitive races one man cannot rule very large areas; practically he wields authority only in those districts which he can reach in a few days from his place of abode. Thus we see the kingdom of the Hwiccas—an offshoot of Wessex—setting up its own kings; in the sixth century one man could not be expected to rule the whole country from the borders of Surrey to the Severn. In the same way the origin of Mercia was due to the advance of the East-Angles; and probably the kingdom of Bernicia arose out of a similar movement from Deira. This, too, is the reason why we meet with a number of “under-kings” or “sub-reguli” in Anglo-Saxon

England; why Kent, East-Anglia, Essex, and Sussex retained the kingly form of government after they had lost all real independence.

One more remark about the Bretwalda. It is often assumed that the great kings, who ruled in Mercia after Penda's death, held the title. They certainly were the most powerful men in England; but, if the Bretwaldaship meant a formal and definite position, it is inconceivable that the Chronicle should have dared to ignore the fact. Charters exist to prove that Mercia had dominion over East-Anglia, Essex, Kent, and Sussex at one time or another; but they never subdued Wessex or Northumbria, neither of which ever owned the overlordship even of Offa. The fact that the last-mentioned king is called "Rex Anglorum" by foreign potentates proves nothing more than that he appeared to them the most powerful of the various English monarchs. Indeed the policy of Offa was distinctly contrary to the idea of an amalgamation of all Britain under one lord; his creation of an archbishopric for the Midlands tends to show that his thoughts were limited to that of a great Mercia, extending its boundaries by force of arms as far as possible. The idea of a wielder of Britain died for the time with Oswy; it is one of the sure signs that Egbert really deserves the name of first king of England that he revived the ancient title.

828 [A]. Egbert allowed Wiglaf to remount his throne after his defeat in 827.

851 [A]. From this point the true chronology is restored.

852 [A]. Another of the Peterborough insertions—there are two mistakes in the signatures, viz., archbishop Ceolred should be Ceolnoth, and Cenred is an error for Ceolred (of Leicester). Tunbert was bishop of Lichfield, Alhun of Worcester, Berhtred of Lindsey.

870 [A]. An insertion for which MS. F is responsible—a Canterbury book more local and monastic even than MS. E. This entry sounds as if it were founded on fact; by the clerks are meant the secular clergy as opposed to the monastic orders. The "pestilence" was perhaps the work of the Danes; the monkish writer would, of course, wish to hide an event so disastrous to the fame of Canterbury and its church; cf. above the annal 851.

871 [A]. A "summer army" was a band of vikings who only fared forth in the summer; in winter they sat at home. The great majority—after once the eastern coast of England had been conquered—seem to have wintered in the land and ultimately to have settled down for good.

The significance of the accession of Alfred to the throne is emphasized by a cross in the margin of the Parker MS.; cf. the word "Alfrede" in a similar position of MS. E.

872 [A.] Æthelwerd adds "*stipendiaque statuunt*" to this annal—

significantly enough. Probably whenever the phrase—"made peace with the host"—is found in the Chronicle, one should add mentally "by the payment of large sums of money." Otherwise the object of merely stating that peace was concluded as in these years of 871, 872, and 873 is not quite clear; and one is left to wonder why the Danes continued their assaults on the stubborn West-Saxons; there were plenty of other districts in Europe more easily terrorized and bullied.

874 [A]. Ceolwulf is the last king of Mercia of whom we have any records, I believe; he could not have reigned very long. This was no very glorious ending for the throne of Penda and Offa.

875 [A]. "We have to note here a division of the invading forces; (i) Halfdene on the Tyne; (ii) Guthrun, etc., at Cambridge. Henceforward we have to observe these two centres in studying the movements of the Vikings."—Earle.

876 [A]. "Simul pecuniam dando," adds Æthelwerd again. Alfred was forced to purchase peace with money; but he seems strong enough now to make an attempt at compelling the Danes to abide by the agreement.

In the Anglo-Saxon text it is not actually said that only a portion of the invading army were "horsed"; but I think this is the true meaning. I cannot believe that the *whole* host was provided with horses. This is proved by the next annal, where the adjective, "mounted" (or "horsed") is especially included to show which part of the Danish host Alfred pursued.

With regard to the sacred oath-ring, the following extract from the "Landnama" or Book of the Settlement of Iceland, is interesting: "A Ring of two ounce weight or more must lie on the altar in every head-temple. This ring every priest must carry in his hand to any law-moot that he himself was to preside over, and he must first redden it with the blood of the sacrificial beast, which he sacrificed there himself." Orig. Island, i. 310 (see also Ellwood).

877 [A]. The submission of the Danes was due to the failure of the fleet—which foundered at Swanage on its way to Exeter—to bring them the necessary provisions; for winter was approaching. The persistence of Alfred in clinging fast to his enemy—so unusual in Anglo-Saxon warfare—had its reward.

878 [A]. The exact meaning of "eight hundred men with him and forty men of his host" is not quite clear. This is the literal translation; Thorpe in his translation has "with him eight hundred and forty men of his force." The forty were probably of the most important section of the Danish army, viz., the real vikings; the eight hundred refer to that part of the army which followed the leadership of these men and shared in the spoils. It must not be supposed that the Danish hosts were composed entirely of vikings; the greater part must have been men from all countries, who came to serve great and famous Norse chiefs

in the hope of booty. These chiefs or vikings formed the aristocracy—so to speak—of the invading armies.

885 [A]. "went east," *i.e.*, into France.

891 [A]. This incident is thoroughly characteristic of the love of the Irish for self-imposed exile and wandering. There are records of them on the continent, in Britain and the many isles off the western coast of this country, in the Faroes and in Iceland.

901. The chronology of the reign of Edward the Elder, says Plummer, "is extraordinarily complicated and difficult." There is, firstly, the difficulty as to the year of Alfred's death. Scholars are very much divided on this point; personally, I side with those who date it in 899. This will at least explain away the apparently empty annals of 899 and 900. I cannot imagine that such a great man as king Alfred let the last three years of his life slip by in doing nothing. Edward, his son, on the contrary, seems to have had many difficulties to overcome before he found himself firmly established on the throne. Secondly, there is the question of the relation of the Mercian Register to the main Chronicle; for which see Introduction. Thirdly, we find a divergence of dates in the various MSS.; thus, 917, 918 of the Parker MS. = 914, 915 of B, C, D. It is sufficient to say here that the earlier dates are probably the correct ones.

919 [A]. The annals (919-924) are found only in the Parker MS.; the true chronology of the events, herein related, should probably be placed three years earlier, *viz.*, 916-921.

924 [D]. This is the last annal based on the so-called Mercian Register. The MSS. B and C, after closing the year 915 (=918 [A]), insert in their texts a series of Mercian events, ranging from 902 to 924. The scribe of MS. D has incorporated several of these in the main Chronicle and attempted—not very successfully—to reduce the whole to chronological order. It is advisable to deal with them as separate and independent annals. The student had best extract them from the text; all the readings from MS. C dealing with the years 902, 904, 905, 907, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 921, and 924, included in my translation, are from the Mercian Register. They comprise all that has come down to us of this Midland Chronicle.

937. [A]. The first of the poems, included in the Chronicle. It is the longest, and, undoubtedly, the best written of their number. The battle of Brunanburh forms one of the most important events of the tenth century; it is a pity we know so little concerning the cause and origin of the campaign. Otherwise we might be able to get a glimpse into the social conditions prevailing in England.

941 [A]. Both Dore, near Sheffield, and the "Gate of the Whitewell" (Whitewell in Derbyshire) are Mercian boundaries. The Five Boroughs are here mentioned for the first time.

948 [A]. The Eric here mentioned is not Eric Hiring, son of Harold Blue-tooth, king of Denmark, as Mr. Plummer asserts; but Eric Blood-axe, son of Harold Fair-hair, king of Norway. The presence of this famous Norse chieftain in England will not surprise students of Scandinavian history. From 930 to 935 Eric reigned in Norway; on the latter date he was expelled by Hacon—the foster-son of king Æthelstan of England—and forced to find a different outlet for his energies. He fared straightway to the Orkneys and there established himself and his followers. For the next dozen years the one-time king of Norway acted the part of the most dreaded viking in the Northern seas; the fame of his exploits travelled far and wide. In 948 we first meet him on the soil of England; and for seven or eight years afterwards he is mixed up with Northumbrian politics. Many diverse authorities refer to this peculiar page of our history—beside the vague allusions of the Chronicle and the later Latin historians—such as the *Heimskringla*, Egil's Saga, Eric's "Drapa," "Fornmanna Sögur," Theodoric's "De Regibus Norwegiae," Adam of Bremen, "Annals of Ulster," "Annals of Clonmacnois," etc. The confusion is greatly increased by the fact that several of the Danish sovereigns of Northumbria were at the same time kings of the Norsemen of Dublin—hence the puzzling references to Ireland in this connection. An excellent paper, by W. G. Collingwood in the *Saga-Book of 1901* (the *Journal of the Viking Club*) clears up many obscure points in the history of the last twenty years of Northumbrian independence. The course of events ran somewhat as follows:

937. Battle of Brunanburh—the last effort of the Danes to contest the overlordship of the English king. Olaf Cuaran, son of Sihtric, king in Dublin, was the most famous of the enemy's leaders.

940. Death of Æthelstan.

941. This year "the Northumbrians were false to their plighted troth and chose Olaf, the son of Guthferth, for their king."

942. Maccus, son of Olaf Cuaran, invades Northumbria and slays the king (Olaf Guthferthson). He is afterwards slain by the Northumbrians; but Olaf Cuaran establishes himself as king.

943. War between king Edmund I of England and king Olaf of Northumbria; "and, after that, Olaf acquired king Edmund's friendship."

944. Olaf Cuaran expelled from Northumbria.

945-7. Continuous warfare in the North.

948. Eric Blood-axe, chosen as king by the Northumbrians, is expelled by king Eadred of England.

949. "This year Olaf Cuaran came to Northumbria."

952. "This year the Northumbrians drove out king Olaf and received Eric Blood-axe once again."

954. "This year the Northumbrians expelled King Eric, and Eadred succeeded to the kingdom of the Northumbrians."

✓ Too much reliance cannot be placed on the above dates; but the general course of events is simple enough. To Eadred is due the credit of finally cowing the stubborn spirit of the Northumbrians and of effecting at last the union of England under one head. That the task was no easy one is proved by such an annal as is given under the year 948 and by the extreme measure of arresting the Archbishop of York, into which Eadred was forced in 952. From 954 onwards we hear only of earls in Northumbria. It is interesting to find that Eric Blood-axe did not meekly submit to his fate; a few years afterwards he made a last effort to regain York by landing on the west coast and going up the Roman road past Appleby until he reached Stainmoor. Here earl Oswulf, of Northumbria, met the invader; and in a sanguinary battle which followed, Eric fell with most of his host. Only a few escaped to the ships.

963. In this year the Laud MS has another long Peterborough interpolation. The following is a translation thereof; see Introduction.

"963. Here by king Edgar St. Æthelwold was chosen to the bishopric in Winchester. And the archbishop of Canterbury, St. Dunstan, consecrated him bishop on the first Sunday of Advent, which was iii kl. Decemb. (Nov. 29th). In the year after he was consecrated, he made many monasteries and drove the clerks out of the bishopric, because they would not observe any rule and set monks there. He made there two abbacies; one of monks, one of nuns—all which was within Winchester. Afterwards he came to the king Edgar and begged of him that he would give him all the monasteries, which heathen men had formerly broken down—because he wished to restore them; and the king granted it blithely. And then the bishop came first to Ely, where St. Ætheldrith lies, and caused the monastery to be made; then he gave it to one of his monks, who was named Brihtnoth, consecrated him abbot, and set there monks to serve God where previously had been nuns. Then he bought many villages of the king and made it very rich.

"After that came the bishop Æthelwold to the monastery which was called Medeshamstead, which formerly had been destroyed by heathen folk; he found there nothing but old walls and wild woods. There found he hidden in the old wall documents which abbot Headda had erewhile written—how king Wulfhere and Æthelred his brother had built it; and how they had freed it against king and against bishop and against all secular service; and how the pope Agatho had confirmed it with his writ, and the archbishop Deusdedit. Then caused he the monastery to be built; and set there an abbot who was called Aldulf; and placed monks there where before had been nothing. Then came he to the king and caused him to look at

the documents which had before been found; and the king answered and said, 'I, Edgar, grant and give to-day, before God and before the archbishop Dunstan, freedom to the monastery of St. Peter, Medeshamstead, from king and from bishop; and all the villages which lie thereto, viz., Eastfield and Dostrop and Eye and Paston. And thus I free it that no bishop have any command there, save the abbot of the monastery. And I give the town, which is called Oundle, with all that lies thereto, viz., that which is called Eight Hundreds, and market and toll, so freely that neither king nor bishop nor earl nor sheriff have any command there, nor any man save the abbot alone and him whom he shall appoint thereto. And I give to Christ and St. Peter, and through the prayer of bishop Æthelwold, these lands; that is, Barrow, Warmington, Ashton, Kettering, Castor, Aylesworth, Walton, Werrington, Eye, Thorpe, and one minter in Stamford. These lands, and all the others which belong to the monastery I declare free; that is, sac and soc, toll and team, and infangenthef.¹ These rights and all others I declare free to Christ and St. Peter. And I give the two parts of Wittleseymere, with the waters and with weirs and fens, and so through Merelad straight on to the water which is called Nen, and so eastward to King's Delph. And I will that a market be in the same town; and that there be none other between Stamford and Huntingdon. And I will that the toll be thus given: first, from Wittleseymere all as far as the king's toll of Northman's cross hundred, and then back again from Wittleseymere, through Merelad, straight to the Nen, and so as the water runneth to Crowland, and from Crowland to Must, and from Must to King's Delph, and to Wittleseymere. And I will that all the immunities and all the remissions, that my predecessors have given, stand; and I write and confirm it with Christ's rood-token. ✠

"Then Dunstan the archbishop of Canterbury answered, and said: 'I grant that all the things which here are given and spoken of, and all the things which thy predecessors and mine have conceded, these will I that they stand; and whosoever this breaketh, then give I him the curse of God and of all saints and of all ordained heads and of myself, save he come to repentance. And I give, in acknowledgment, to St. Peter, my mass-mantle and my stole and my robe for the service of Christ.' 'I, Oswald, archbishop of York, assent to all these words by the holy rood on which Christ suffered. ✠ 'I, bishop Æthelwold, bless all who shall observe this; and I excommunicate all who shall break this, save he come to repentance.' Here was bishop Ælfstan, bishop Athulf, and abbot Escwy, and abbot Osgar, and abbot Æthelgar, and aldorman Ælfhere,

¹ See index for explanation of these terms.

aldorman Æthelwin, Britnoth, aldorman Oslac, and many other powerful men: and all assented to it, and all signed it with Christ's Cross.✠ This was done after the birth of our Lord nine hundred and seventy-two years, the sixteenth year of the king's [reign].

"Then the abbot Aldulf bought lands, numerous and many, and greatly enriched the monastery withal; and then was he there until the archbishop Oswald of York was dead, and then he was chosen archbishop. And then forthwith another abbot was chosen of the same monastery who was called Kenulf: he was afterwards bishop in Winchester. And he first made the wall about the monastery; then gave it for name Peterborough, which before was called Medeshamstead: he was there until he was appointed bishop in Winchester. Then another abbot was chosen of the same monastery, who was called Ælfsi: Ælfsi was abbot henceforward for fifty winters. He took up St. Cyneburh and St. Cyneswith, who lay at Castor, and St. Tibba, who lay at Ryhall, and brought them to Peterborough and offered them all to St. Peter in one day; and observed it henceforth all the while that he was there."

973 [A]. C places Edgar's coronation in 974; D, E, F in 972. A, however, is correct, for only in 973 did Pentecost's day fall on May 11th.

991. The Anglo-Saxon poem, called "The Battle of Maldon," deals with the event here mentioned; it is probably contemporary. The leader of the invaders was no other than Olaf Tryggvason, afterwards Olaf I, king of Norway (995-1000).

992 [B]. This annal presents very confused writing. The gist of the matter seems to have been that the English leaders planned a surprise-attack on the Danish host, which was probably cruising at this time somewhere along the east coast of England. Ælfric, for reasons unknown, revealed the plan, himself possibly carrying the news of the English approach to the enemy. This doubtless caused a delay in the operations; and in the meantime Ælfric rejoined his companions. At some place unspecified, the two fleets again came into collision; and the English apparently were worsted, Ælfric playing no part in the conflict. Such I take to be the significance of the phrase, "all armed and equipped," that is to say, having sustained no damage in battle—though I admit that the alliteration of the two words looks like an attempt at mere rhetorical effect.

995 [F]. It is Bede's "Hist. Eccl." which is here referred to as "Historia Anglorum." This account of Ælfric and the secular clerks is written in a very small hand on the margin and on an inserted leaf, and has been much injured by the use of galls. Several parts of the text, in consequence, cannot be read; and I have been obliged to rely on the Latin version—printed by Plummer in Appendix B, iv—for that portion of my translation enclosed in brackets.

1008 [E]. This is a most interesting annal; unfortunately the exact assessment is far from clear. The other MSS. differ slightly in form from E; MS. C has "from three hundred hides and from ten one longship," while D's text is confused and unreliable. F Lat. is—"unam magnam nauem quae Anglice nominatur scegth." It is impossible to give a technical description of the "scegth," or longship, as I have translated it; but it seems to have been a light and swift vessel. The word is derived from old Norse "skeith," which is usually found as the name given by the vikings to their ships.

1011. "'Fore God and 'fore the world," *i.e.*, in every way of life, ecclesiastical and civil.

1012 [E]. "And there now . . ." Note the touch of contemporary writing, for the relics were translated to Canterbury in 1023.—Plummer.

1013 [E]. "And the while the lady . . ." This is peculiar to E and is the ninth of the Peterborough insertions. It is doubtless true; and gives a very interesting insight into the customs and ideas of the time. The great reverence, which was paid to saints' relics in the Middle Ages, gave such things a high marketable value; and was the source of much wealth to monasteries and churches. Hence a regular trade grew up in connection with them; and naturally many forgeries were perpetrated. Even so, £500 was a big price to pay—especially by a fugitive Englishman at a time when England was being overrun by a great horde of ruthless foes, and the king and queen driven from the country.

1017 [E]. The names, recorded in this annal—save that of the alderman Eadric—are probably those of the hostages whom king Edmund had given to Knut, when peace was made between the two; they seem to have been engaged in some plot against the new Danish sovereign.

1031 [A]. The Latin of this charter is in the Crawford Charters, No. xii; for its insertion here compare the Peterborough additions. The first part of the word, *Taper-axe*, is Slavonic, and means *axe*—the word was doubtless introduced by the Danes.

1035. Mr. Plummer's account of the events immediately following on Knut's death is very clear and sound. It is clear that Godwin's chief purpose was to keep the two crowns of England and Denmark together; such, naturally, was Emma's aim, too. Owing to the fact that Knut had held Wessex in his own hands, Godwin was able to induce the West-Saxons to follow him; and we behold the strange spectacle of the most English of the divisions, into which the land was divided, wishing to retain their connection with Denmark, while the Mercian and Northumbrian regions—half-Danish in blood, as they were—resolved to set up a king of their own. A compromise was effected by which Harold—the candidate of the separatist party—ruled as

regent "for himself and his brother." But all this antagonism belonged to the chief men; the nation as a whole was unaffected by it and had no zeal for either of the brothers. The English at this period were intensely devoted to their sovereigns; of this there can be no doubt. Knut had been accepted, after Edmund's death, for the simple reason that he was the only candidate of any personality; and he managed to retain his hold on the country by the exercise of great wisdom and prudence. On his death the English would once more bethink themselves of their own royal family. At the moment, however, no great man put himself forward as the exponent of the popular feeling; and in consequence the English people lay quiet, almost unconscious of their own sentiment.

Into all this turmoil came Alfred, son of Æthelred II. If he were innocent of any idea of asserting his own rights, he must have been either very young or very unambitious; and why on earth did he come in this particularly dangerous year to give a proof of his existence? It must be plain to everyone with any knowledge of human nature that Alfred came to England hoping to turn the confusion in the land to his own advantage. By his attempt to reach Emma, we may infer that he was trying to enlist his mother on his side. At any rate, he came unprovided for hostilities and practically undefended. In this emergency Godwin acted with great decision. Before the news of the atheling's arrival could spread over the country, he arrested Alfred; and slew him and all his company. It is useless to blame this "very atrocious deed"; from the pro-Danish point of view, it was the only thing to do. When the Chronicle speaks of the "innocent atheling," all they mean to convey is that it was perfectly natural and right of prince Alfred to attempt to regain his father's throne; what most did not understand was the attitude taken up by earl Godwin. They had no sympathy with Denmark or Denmark's king; they saw no reason why he should also be king in England; they had only endured Knut because he had ruled their land as an Englishman.

Undoubtedly Godwin made a mistake; but we need not attribute great foolishness to the idea of a united monarchy of English and Danes, since the great king Knut had entertained it. Alfred's murder at once gave a solid foundation to the national sentiment; popular feeling was so strong that Edward, also a son of Æthelred II, was able to come to England in 1040 or 1041, and there is some evidence to prove that Hardaknut either associated the Anglo-Saxon prince in the kingship or else formally appointed him as his successor. Here was no sentimental friendship to Edward or love of justice; he was doubtless compelled thereto by the popular opinion. The Danish successors of Knut would probably not have remained in possession of England as long as they did, had the sons of Æthelred been men of greater prudence and energy. It is needless to add

that Godwin only followed his master, Hardaknut, in finally welcoming the return of the Anglo-Saxon kings.

1036. Mr. Plummer devotes four pages (211-215) to convicting earl Godwin of this "very atrocious deed," and to proving the innocence of the atheling. The first may undoubtedly be granted him; but the second is not within the range of probabilities, see above. Note that Godwin did not actually kill him; the probability is that he did not dare to do so. The blinding, however, was equally effectual; the passionate indignation, which this event aroused amongst the English, and which is so emphasized in this apology for a poem, was not due simply to the fact that prince Alfred met his death in England. Edmund II's death called no comment from the chronicler, though this was a real national disaster and must equally have been due to foul play. But Alfred fell by the hands of his own countrymen, Godwin and the leading men of the West-Saxons; he was not given a chance to show himself, but ruthlessly swept off the scene before men knew he was in the land. These facts excited the horror of the deed; after all, Alfred was doing a very natural thing in coming to England and trying to regain the crown; and so the generality of Englishmen must have felt and sympathized with him. Yet he fell a victim to the unscrupulous energy of "those, who held much power;" and his death directly prepared the way for the restoration of his brother. It roused public opinion actively against the Danish party; which fact is very apparent in the short records we have of Hardaknut's reign.

1040 [C], 1039 [E]. The date in E is a mere error due to the omission of the vacant annal 1039. Unfortunately it deranges the chronology of E for a long period. Note that E does not say that Harold "reigned" or "was king for four years . . ." but merely that he "ruled England." The expression is carefully chosen to include the period of Harold's regency.—Plummer.

1045 [C], 1046 [D], 1043 [E]. In order to preserve some sort of connected narrative, I have been forced to indicate in the text the true chronology of these complicated events; Mr. Plummer has been my guide.

"King's ships and . . . ships of the landmen." Note the distinction between the royal or standing navy and the national levy.—Plummer.

1048 [D]. I have adopted Mr. Plummer's suggestion that the words "for the reason that Magnus had a great naval force," refer to Swegen's appeal for aid, not to the cause why the application was rejected by the English. Previous translators of the Chronicle have evidently taken it in the latter spirit; for instance, Thorpe reads ". . . that fifty ships should be sent to his aid. But it seemed unadvisable to all people; and then it was prevented, by reason that Magnus had a great naval force."

- 1052 [E]. "Abbot Arnwi." These last few lines are another of the Peterborough insertions. The place "outside London," where the great gemot was held, was presumably Westminster.
- 1055 [C]. "The fields to the north-west of the city [of Hereford] are still called the port fields."—Ingram, p. 244.
- 1067 [D]. "And during these events one of Harold's sons . . ."—probably a slip on the scribe's part. Read "and during these events came Harold's sons from Ireland. . . ." These young men were not the legitimate offspring of the late king; Harold was married just before his accession to the throne to Ealdgyth, widow of king Gruffydd of Wales, and sister of earls Edwin and Morcar. By her he had two boys.
- 1121 [E]. The word for "duke" in the Anglo-Saxon text is "here-toga," which is translated "leader" in the few instances where it occurs earlier, *e.g.* 449, 656, 794, 993, 1003.
- 1140 [E]. This entry is made up of notices of the principal events of Stephen's reign, thrown together with very little regard for chronology.

INDEX

Reference is made by annals only.

A few obvious abbreviations are used: bp., abp., for bishop, archbishop; dr. for daughter, etc.

The spelling of all doubtful names, especially that of unidentified localities, is retained in the original Anglo-Saxon.

This index is based entirely on Plummer's Index (vol ii, Two Saxon Chronicles parallel).

After 1080 A.D. no MS. is noted save in the fragments of H, because with that exception E is the only MS. which extends beyond that date.

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Adam, West-Saxon pedigree traced up to, 855 A, B, C.

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Adrian I, pope, sends legates to England, 785 E; dies, 794.

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Æbbe, a Frisian, slain, 897 A.

Æfic, king's high-reeve, murdered by Leofsig of Essex, 1002 E; Eadwig, brother of, 1010 E.

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Ægelbert (*i.e.* Æthelbert) of Gaul, bp. of the West-Saxons, succeeds Birinus, 650 A, 649 E; leaves Cenwalh and becomes bp. of Paris, 660 A; Hlothere, nephew of, 670 A.

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Ægelnoth, abbot of Glastonbury, appointed, 1053 D; taken to Normandy with William, 1066 D.

Ægelric, bp. of the South-Saxons (*i.e.*, Selsey), appointed 1057 D; consecrated, 1058 D, E.

Ægelric, bp. of Durham, 1072 E, 1073 D; consecrated at York, 1041 D; resigns and retires to Peterborough, 1056 D; accused

and sent to Westminster, 1068 D; 1069 E, 1072 E, 1073 D; excommunicates the plunderers of Peterborough, 1070 E, 1071 D; had been consecrated to York, 1072 E, 1073 D; dies and is buried at Westminster, 1072 E, 1073 D.

Ægelward, abbot of Glastonbury, dies, 1053 C.

Ægelwig, abbot of Evesham, dies, 1077 E, 1078 D.

Ægelwin, bp. of Durham, succeeds his brother Ægelric, 1056 D; outlawed, 1068 D, 1069 E; joins the insurgents at Ely, 1071 E, 1072 D; submits, is sent to Abingdon and dies, 1071 E, 1072 D.

Ægthan, king of Scots, defeated at Dægsastan, 603 E.

Ælfetee (perhaps Elvet), Durham, Pehtwin consecrated at, 762 E.

Ælfgar, aldorman, father of Æthelflaed, Edmund's wife, 946 D.

Ælfgar, son of Ælfric of Hants, blinded by Æthelred, 993 E.

Ælfgar, bp. of Elmham, dies, 1021 D.

Ælfgar, son of Leofric, earl of the Mercians, Harold's earldom given to, 1048 E; succeeds to Harold's formerearldom, 1053 C, D, E; banished, attacks Hereford with Welsh and Irish help, 1055 C, D, E; restored, 1055 C, D; his fleet, 1055 C; succeeds his father, 1057, D, E; banished, but restored by Welsh help, 1058 D; Morcar, son of, 1065 D, 1064 E.

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Ælfget, slain by the Welsh, 1039 C.

Ælfgyfu, wife of Edmund, mother of Eadwig and Edgar, 955 D.

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Ælfgyfu, of Northampton, dr. of aldorman Ælfhelm, mother of Harold I, 1036 E, 1035 C, D.

Ælfgyfu-Emma, lady of the English, daughter of Richard I of Normandy, comes to England, 1002 E; makes the French churl Hugo reeve of Exeter, 1003 E; goes to her brother, Richard II of Normandy, 1013 E; Knut marries, 1017 D, E; her double name, 1017 F; assists at translation of St. Ælfheah, 1023 D; occupies Winchester and holds Wessex for Hardaknut, 1036 E, cf. 1035 C, D; expelled from England and takes refuge at Bruges, 1037 C, E; joined by Hardaknut, 1039 C; mother of Alfred atheling, 1036 C, D; of Hardaknut, 1023 D, 1039 C, 1040 E, 1051 C, 1052 E; of Edward Conf., 1040 E, 1051 C, 1052 E; gives head of St. Valentine to the New Minster, 1041 F; stripped of her possessions by Edward, 1043 C, D, 1042 E; Stigand an adherent of, 1043 C; dies, 1051 C, 1052 D, E; buried near Knut, 1052 C.

Ælfheah, bp. of Winchester, appointed, 934 A, 935 F; dies, 951 A.

Ælfheah, abp. of Canterbury, succeeds Æthelwold as bp. of Winchester, 984 A (cf. 884 F Lat.); called also Godwin, 984 A; sent by Æthelred to negotiate with Olaf, 994 E; becomes abp. of Canterbury, 1006 A; goes to Rome for pall, 1007 D; had rescued the traitor Ælfmær, 1011 E; is taken and kept in prison by the Danes, 1011 E; refuses to ransom himself and is martyred, 1012 E; buried in St. Paul's, London, 1012 E; his relics translated to Canterbury, 1023 C, D, E.

Ælfhelm, aldorman in North-

- umbria, slain, 1006 E; *Ælfgyfu* of Northampton, dr. of, 1036 E.
- Ælfhere*, aldorman in Mercia, signature of, 963 E; heads anti-monastic movement, 975 D, E; translates body of Edward Martyr, 980 E; dies, 983 A.
- Ælfhun*, bp. of London, conveys abp. *Ælfheah*'s body to London, 1012 E; sent to Normandy with the two athelings, 1013 E.
- Ælfled*, second wife of *Æthelred*, king of the Northumbrians, 792 E.
- Ælfnoth*, sheriff, slain in battle against the Welsh, 1056 C, D.
- Ælfric*, father of *Osric*, uncle of *Edwin*, 634 E.
- Ælfric*, abp. of Canterbury, a leader of the English fleet, 992 E (miswritten *Ælfstan*); appointed to Canterbury, 994 A, 996 E, 995 F; expels secular clerks, 995 F; goes to Rome, 995 F; dies, 1005 A, 1006 E.
- Ælfric*, aldorman in Mercia, succeeds *Ælfhere*, 983 C, E; banished, 985 C, E.
- Ælfric*, aldorman in Hants, commands the English fleet, 992 E; his treachery, 992 E; *Ælfgar*, son of, blinded, 993 E; renewed treachery of, 1003 E; slain at *Ashingdon*, 1016 D, E.
- Ælfric*, abp. of York, succeeds *Wulfstan II*, 1023 E; consecrated by *Æthelnoth*, 1023 F; goes to Rome for pall, 1026 D; dies, 1050 C, 1052 D.
- Ælfric*, bp. of the East-Angles, 1038 C, E.
- Ælfric*, miswritten for *Ætheric*, 1034 D.
- Ælfric*, brother of *Odda*, death of, 1053 D.
- Ælfsige*, bp. of Winchester, Godwin, son of, slain, 1001 A.
- Ælfsige*, abbot in Peterborough, translates SS. *Cyneburg*, *Cyne*swith, and *Tibba* to Peterborough, 963 E; goes to Normandy, 1013 E; dies, 1041 E.
- Ælfsige*, bp. of Winchester, assists at translation of St. *Ælfheah*, 1023 D; dies, 1032 E.
- Ælfstan*, bp. of London, signature of, 963 E.
- Ælfstan*, bp. of Wilts, dies and is buried at *Abingdon*, 981 C.
- Ælfstan*, miswritten for *Ælfric*, 992 E.
- Ælfstan*, abp. of Canterbury, called *Living*, 1019 D, 1020 F Lat.
- Ælfstan*, abbot of St. *Augustin's*, Canterbury, consents to appointment of *Wulfric*, 1043 E; dies, 1044 E.
- Ælfthryth*, dr. of aldorman *Ordgar*, wife of *Edgar*, 965 D.
- Ælfward*, bp. of London and abbot of *Evesham*, 1045 D.
- Ælfward*, son of *Edward* the elder, dies, 924 C, D.
- Ælfward*, king's reeve, 1011 E.
- Ælfwig*, bp. of London, consecrated at *York*, 1014 D.
- Ælfwin*, brother of *Egferth*, king of the Northumbrians, slain, 679 A.
- Ælfwin*, abbot of *Ramsey*, 1046^b E.
- Ælfwin*, bp. of Winchester, appointed, 1032 E; dies, 1045 E, 1047 C, 1048 D.
- Ælfwold*, king of the Northumbrians, accession of, 778 E; expels *Æthelred*, 778 E; sends to Rome for pall for *Eanbald*, 780 E; murdered by *Sige* and buried at *Hexham*, 789 E.
- Ælfwyn*, dr. of *Æthelred* and *Æthelflaed*, 919 C.
- Ælle*, king of the South-Saxons, arrives in Britain, 477 A; he and his three sons defeat Britons, 477 A; fights with Britons near *Mearcraedesburn*, 485 A; storms *Anderida*, 491 A; first *Bretwalda*, 827 A.
- Ælle*, king of the *Deirans*, son of

- Yffe, 560 A; dies and is succeeded by Æthelric, 588 A; father of Edwin, 617 E.
- Ælle, king of the Northumbrians, not of royal race, slain by the Danes, 867 A.
- Ælmær, rescued by abp. Ælfheah, betrays Canterbury to the Danes, 1011 E.
- Ælmær, abbot of St. Augustin's, Canterbury, 1011 E.
- Ælmær darling, 1016 D.
- Æsc, son of Hengist and joint king with him, 455 A; defeats Britons at Crayford, 457 A; near Wippedsfleet, 465 A; decisively, 473 A; sole king, 488 A.
- Æscwig, bp. of Dorchester, and commander of the English fleet, 992 E.
- Æscwin, king of the West-Saxons, succeeds Sexburg, descended from Cerdic, A Pref. 674; son of Cenfus, 674 A, 675 E; fights with Wulfhere at Bedwin, 675 A; dies, 676 A.
- Æthelbald, king of the Mercians, accession of, 716 A; captures Somerton, 733 A; harries Northumberland, 737 D; fights against Cuthred, 741 A, 740 E; against Britons, 743 A; son of Alwy, 716 A; present at Council of Clovesho, 742 F; defeated at Burford, 752 A; slain at Seckington, 755 A.
- Æthelbald, king of the West-Saxons, succeeds his father and is succeeded by his brother, A Pref.; helps his father to defeat the Danes, 851 A; succeeds to throne, 855 A; dies, 860 A.
- Æthelbald, signature of, 656 E.
- Æthelbald, slays three high-reeves, 778 E.
- Æthelbert I, king of the Kentish men, first Christian king in Britain, 552 F; son of Eormenric, 552 F, 616 F; father of Eadbald, 616 A, 694 A; accession of, 565 E; mission of Gregory under, 565 E, 995 F; driven into Kent by West-Saxons, 568 A; Ricola, sister of, 604 E; sets Sæbert over East-Saxons, 604 E; grants London to Mellitus, and Rochester to Justus, 604 E; dies, 616 A; third Bretwalda, 827 A; Canterbury the capital of, 995 F.
- Æthelbert II, king of the Kentish-men, accession of, and son of Wihtred, 748 (note); dies, 760 A.
- Æthelbert, king of the East-Angles, beheaded by Offa, 792 A; his minster burnt, 1055 E.
- Æthelbert, king of the West-Saxons, succeeds Æthelbald, and is succeeded by Æthelred I, A Pref., 866 A; succeeds his father in Kent, 855 A; succeeds to whole kingdom, 860 A.
- Æthelbert, abp. of York, consecrated, 766 E; dies, 779 E.
- Æthelbert, bp. of Whiter and Hexham, consecrated, 777 E; consecrates Baldwulf, 791 E; crowns Eardwulf, 795 E; dies, 797 E.
- Æthelburg, widow of Edwin, returns to Kent, 633 E.
- Æthelburg, queen of the West-Saxons, wife of Ine, 722 A.
- Æthelferth, a king's geneat, slain, 897 A.
- Æthelflæd, lady of the Mercians, fortifies Bromesberrow, 909 D, 910 C; Scergeat and Bridgenorth, 912 C; Tamworth and Stafford, 913 C, D; Eddisbury and Warwick, 914 C; Chirk, Warburton, and Runcorn, 915 C captures Brecon, 916 C; Derby, 917 C; Leicester, 918 C; makes a treaty with men of York, 918 C; dies at Tamworth, 918 C, 922 A, 918 E; buried in Gloucester, 918 C; subjects of, submit to Edward, 922 A.

- Æthelfæd, of Damerham, dr. of Ælfgar and wife of Edmund I, 946 D.
- Æthelfrith, king of the Northumbrians, father of Oswig, son of Æthelric, 670 A, 685 A, cf. 593 E; accession of, 593 A; defeats Aedan, 603 E; Theobald, brother of, slain, 603 E; fights battle of Chester, 605 E; slain by Redwald, 617 E; succeeded by Edwin who expels his sons, 617 E; Eanfrid, son of, 634 E.
- Æthelgar, abp. of Canterbury, abbot of the New Minster, Winchester, signature of, 963 E; appointed abbot, 964 A; bp. of Selsey, 980 C; translated to Canterbury and dies soon thereafter, 988 C, E.
- Æthelhard, king of the West-Saxons, succeeds Ine, is descended from Cerdic, and succeeded by Cuthred, 728 A, 726 E; A Pref.; fights with Oswald atheling, 728 A; dies, 741 A, 740 E.
- Æthelhard, abp. of Canterbury, 995 F; election of, 790 A; holds a council, 796 F; goes to Rome, 799 A; dies, 803 A.
- Æthelhard, aldorman, dies, 794 E.
- Æthelhard, aldorman, signature of, 852 E.
- Æthelhelm, aldorman in Dorset, defeated and slain by Danes, 837 A.
- Æthelhelm, aldorman in Wilts, conveys Alfred's alms to Rome, 887 A; defeats Danes at Butington, 894 A; dies, 898 A.
- Æthelhere, brother of Onna, king of the East-Angles, slain, 654 E.
- Æthelhere, a Frisian, slain, 897 A.
- Æthelhun, aldorman, 750 A.
- Æthelhun-island, in Peterborough charter, 675 E.
- Æthelic, v. Matilda, dr. of Henry I.
- Æthelingaden [? Alton, Hants], Hampshire fyrd defeated at, 1001 A.
- Æthelmaer, aldorman in Hants, dies, 928 C.
- Æthelmaer the big, father of Æthelweard, 1017 D, E.
- Æthelmaer, aldorman in Devon, 1013 E.
- Æthelmund, aldorman, defeated and slain at Kempford, 800 A.
- Æthelnoth, aldorman in Somerset, 894 A.
- Æthelnoth, abp. of Canterbury, formerly dean of Christ Church, 1020 D, E; goes to Rome, 1022 D; translates the relics of Ælfheah to Canterbury, 1023 D, E; consecrates Ælfric to York, 1023 F; dies, 1038 C, D, E.
- Æthelred, king of the Mercians, at Medeshamsted, 656 E; accession of, 675 A; sends Wilfrid to Rome, 675 E; letter of Pope Agatho to, *ib.*; orders Theodore to summon council of Hatfield, *ib.*; grant of, to Medeshamsted, *ib.*; Ostryth, queen of, *ib.*; 697 E; ravages Kent, 676 A; fights Egferth, 679 E; becomes a monk, 704 A; buried, 716 A.
- Æthelred, king of the Northumbrians, accession of, 774 E; son of Moll Æthelwold, 790 E; expelled by Ælfwold, 778 E; restored, 790 E; marries Ælfæd as his second wife, 792 E; slain by his own people, 794 A.
- Æthelred I, king of the West-Saxons, succeeds his brother and is succeeded by Alfred, A Pref.; goes to help Burgred; makes Æthelred abp. of Canterbury, 870 F; fights at Reading and Ashdown, at Basing, at Meretun, 871 A; dies, *ib.*
- Æthelred II, king of the English, accession of, 978 A, 979 E; crowned at Kingston, 979 C, E;

- ravages Rochester, 986 C, E; orders a fleet to assemble at London, 992 E; orders Ælfgar to be blinded, 993 E; purchases peace from the Danes, 994 E; appoints Ælfric to Canterbury, 995 F; futile measures of, against the Danes, 999 E, 1009 E, 1010 E; ravages Cumberland, 1000 E; Pallig deserts, 1001 A; sends Leofsige to the Danes, 1002 E; orders massacre of St. Brice, *ib.*; in Shropshire, 1006 E, purchases peace from the Danes, *ib.*; orders a naval levy; Athelstan, kinsman of, 1010 E; appoints Living to Canterbury, 1013 E; in London, *ib.*; with the fleet, *ib.*; sends his two sons over sea, *ib.*, E, F; goes to Normandy, *ib.*; recalled by the Witan, 1014 E; ravages Lindsey, *ib.*; lies sick at Cosham, 1015 E; in London, 1016 D, E; dies, *ib.*; Ælfgyfu—Emma, widow of, 1017 D, E; 1052 D; Alfred Atheling, son of, 1036 C, D; Edward Conf., son of, 1040 E, 1041 C, 1065 C, D; established the Danegeld, 1052 D; kin of, overcome by Knut, 1065 C, D; son of Edgar, father of Edmund II, 1066 D.
- Æthelred, abp. of Canterbury, formerly bp. in Wilts, 870 F; dies, 888 A; tries to expel secular clerks, 870 F.
- Æthelred, aldorman or lord of the Mercians, London entrusted to, by Alfred, 886 A; godfather to one of Hæsten's sons, 894 A; Hæsten harries district of, *ib.*; fights at Buttington, *ib.*; dies, 910 D, E, 911 C, 912 A, D; Ælfwyn, dr. of, 919 C.
- Æthelric, king of the Northumbrians, father of Æthelfrith, son of Ida, 593 E; 670 A; 685 A; accession of (in Deira) 588 A.
- Æthelric, bp. of the South-Saxons (*i.e.* Selsey), dies, 1038 C, D, E.
- Æthelsige, abbot of Abingdon, 1016 E; dies, 1018 E.
- Æthelsige, abbot of St. Augustin's, Canterbury, 1061 E.
- Æthelstan, son of Egbert, king of Kent, 836 A; defeats the Danes at Sandwich, 851 A.
- Æthelstan, bears Alfred's alms to Rome, etc., 883 A.
- Æthelstan, baptismal name of Guthrum, *q.v.*, 890 A.
- Æthelstan, king of the English, succeeds his father in Wessex, B Pref.; succeeded by Edmund I; elected by the Mercians, 924 C, D; crowned at Kingston, *ib.*; gives his sister to the son of the king of the old Saxons, *ib.*; meets Sitric, 925 D; annexes Northumbria and reduces Celtic princes, 926 D; expels Guthfrith, 927 E; harries Scotland, 934 A; wins battle of Brunanburh, 937 A; dies, 940 E, 941 A.
- Æthelstan, kinsman of Æthelred II, father of Oswig, slain, 1010 E.
- Æthelstan, abbot of Abingdon, 1044 C, 1043 E; dies, 1046 E, 1047 C.
- Æthelstan, bp. of Hereford, 1055 C, D; bp. Tremerin, coadjutor of, *ib.*; dies, 1056 C, D.
- Æthelswith, daughter of Æthelwulf, marries Burgred, 853 A, 852 E; sister of Alfred, 888 A; dies at Pavia, *ib.*
- Æthelwald, king of the South-Saxons, receives a grant of Wight from Wulfhere, 661 A.
- Æthelwald, bp. of Lichfield, dies, 828 A.
- Æthelwald, son of Æthelred I, 901 A; the Danes and, *ib.*; abduction of nun by, *ib.*; comes to Essex, 904 A, D; stirs up

- East-Anglian Danes and is slain at the Holme, 905 A, D.
- Æthelwald, bp. of Lindisfarne, dies, 737 E.
- Æthelwald, aldorman in Kent, dies, 888 A.
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- Æthelwald I, bishop of Winchester, 963 A; signature of, *ib.*; death of (wrongly entered), 884 F; dies, 984 A.
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- Æthelward, son of Æthelmær, slain, 1017 D, E.
- Æthelward, aldorman in Wessex, banished, 1020 D, E.
- Æthelward, king's high-reeve, slain, 1001 A.
- Æthelwin, friend of God, aldorman of the East Angles, dies, 992 E; signature of, 963 E; Æthelward, son of, 1016 C.
- Æthelwin, abbot of Abingdon, succeeds, 1018 E.
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- Æthelwulf, king of the West-Saxons, succeeds his father, his pedigree, A Pref., 855 A; sent by his father to seize Kent, etc., 823; defeated at Char-mouth, 840 A; victorious at Ockley, 851 A; helps Burgred, 853 A, 852 E; sends Alfred to Rome, *ib.* A; gives his dr. to Burgred, *ib.* A; "books" a tenth part of his land, 855 A; goes to Rome, marries Judith, returns and dies, 855 A.
- Æthelwulf, aldorman in Berks, defeats the Danes, 860A; again, 871 A; slain at Reading, *ib.*
- Æthered, aldorman in Devonshire, 901 A, D.
- Ætheric, bp. of Dorchester, 1034 C, D, E.
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- Agatho, pope, 675 E.
- Agmund, two Danish "holds" so named, 911 B, C, D.
- Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne, dies, 651 A, 650 E.
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- Alban, St., martyrdom of, 286 E, 283 A; translation of, 793 F.
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- Aldfrith, king of the Northumbrians, succeeds, 685 E; dies, 705 A; Osred reigns after, 716 A; husband of Cuthburg, 718 A.
- Aldhelm, son of Osga, 731 A.
- Aldhelm, bp. of Sherborne, dies, 709 A; West Saxon diocese divided between Daniel, etc., *ib.*
- Aldulf, bp. of Rochester, consecrated, 727 E; one of Tatwin's consecrators, 731 E.
- Aldwin, bp. of Lichfield, one of Tatwin's consecrators, 731 E.
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- Alexander I, pope, introduces holy water, 114 E.
- Alexander II, pope, 1061 D; Lanfranc and Thomas of York plead their cause with, 1070 A.
- Alexander I, king of Scots, succeeds, 1107; dies, 1124.
- Alexander, bp. of Lincoln, 1123, 1137; goes to Rome, 1125; present at the consecration of Canterbury Cathedral, 1130;

- protects the monks of Peterborough, 1132; arrested, 1137.
- Alexandria, Cyril, patriarch of, 433 E.
- Alfhun, bp. of Dunwich, dies, 798 F.
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- Alfred, king of the English, succeeds to Wessex, 871 A, 901 A; A Pref.; sent to Rome by his father, 853 A; Burgred asks for help from, 868 A; joins in making Æthelred abp., 870 F; fights at Reading, at Ashdown, at Basing, at Meretun, at Wilton, 871 A; smaller operations of, *ib.*; defeats the Danes at sea, 875 A; Danes make peace with, 876 A; further strife with Danes, 877 A, 878 A; defeats the Danes at sea, 882 A; sends alms to Rome, 883 E; drives the Danes from Rochester, 885 A; naval operations of, 885 A; obtains freedom of the English School in Rome, 885 A; occupies London, 886 A; sends alms to Rome, 887 A, 888 A, 890 A; sends couriers to Rome, 890 A; Æthelswith, sister of, 888 A; three Scots come to, 891 A; further war of, against the Danes, 894 A; 896 A; builds new ships, 897 A; dies, 901 A.
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- Alfred atheling, son of Æthelred II, sent to Normandy, 1013 E; comes to England and is arrested, 1036.
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- Amaury IV, count of Montfort, rebels against Henry I, 1123; defeated, 1124.
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- Anderida (perhaps Pevensy), destroyed by Ælle, 491 A.
- Andover (Hants), Æthelred II stands sponsor to Olaf Trygvason at, 994 E.
- Andred, the Weald (Kent and Sussex), Cynewulf drives Sigbert into, 755 A; Lymne-mouth to the east of, 893 A; size of, *ib.*
- Andred's-lea, the Weald (Kent and Sussex), Ælle drives the Britons into, 477 A.
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- Bamborough (Northumberland), built by Ida, 547 E; Oswald's hands preserved at, 641 E; Ealdred of, 926 D; captured by the Danes, 993 E; Morael of, 1093; siege of, 1095.
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- Beocca, aldorman, 888 A.
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- Beorhtulf, aldorman of Essex, 897 A.
- Beorn, aldorman, 779 E.
- Beorn, earl of the Middle Angles, brother of king Swegen of Denmark, opposes Swegen Godwinson, 1046 E, 1049 C; helps him, 1050 D; goes to Pevensey, C, D, E; Harold gives up ship to, *ib.*, C, D, E; Swegen and, *ib.*, C, D, E.
- Beorngar [*i.e.*, Berengar, mark-grave of Friuli], 887 A.
- Beornhelm, abbot of St. Augustin's, 890 A.
- Beornmod, bp. of Rochester, 802 A.
- Beornred, king of the Mercians, accession of, 755 A; expelled by Offa, *ib.*, E, F.
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- ries Eadburg, 787 A; dies, 800 A; combines with Offa to expel Egbert, 836 A.
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- Berhtwald, abp. of Canterbury, succeeds Theodore, 690 A, 692 E; consecrated by Godwin, 693 E; consecrates Tobias, *ib.*; and Aldulf, 727 E; dies 731 A.
- Berhtwulf, king of the Mercians, 851 A.
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- Besançon, abp. of (*i.e.*, Hugues de Salins), 1046 E; Henry of Poitou and, 1127.
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- Bregwin, abp. of Canterbury, 995 F; consecrated, 759 A; dies, 762 F.
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- Ceadwalla, king of the West-Saxons, A Pref.; son of Coenbert, 685 A; Mul, brother of, *ib.*; ravages Kent, 686 A; again, 687 A; goes to Rome, 688 A; grant of, to Medeshamstead, 686 E.
- Cealchythe [? Chelsea or Challock near Gravesend], 785 A.
- Ceawlin, king of the West-Saxons, P Pref., A Pref.; 685 A, 688 A, 855 A, 728 A, 571 E, 827 A; fights against the Britons, 556 A; accession of, 560 A; fights against Kent, 568 A; against the Britons, 577 A, 584 A; expulsion of, 592 A; death of, 593 A.
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- Cenred, bishop, 852 E; miswritten for Ceolred, *q.v.*
- Centwin, king of the West-Saxons, A Pref., 676 A; drives the Britons to the sea, 682 A.
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- Cenwalh, king of the West-Saxons, A Pref.; 643 A, 641 E; builds the old church at Winchester, 643 A, 641 E, 648 F; expelled by Penda, 645 A, 644 E; baptised, 646 A, 645 E; makes grant at Ashdown to Cuthred, 648; fights, 648 A, 658 A, 661 A; Ægelbert leaves, 660 A; dies, 672 A.
- Cenwulf, king of the Mercians, harries Kent, 796 B, C; dies, 819 A.
- Ceol, king of the West-Saxons, A Pref., 591 A, 611 B, C (possibly a shortened form of Ceawlin, cf. note, p. 253).
- Ceolburg, abbess of Berkeley, 805 A.
- Ceolmund, aldorman of Kent, 897 A.
- Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, chosen, 830 A; receives pall, 831 A; miswritten signature of, 852 E, *v.* Ceolred; dies, 870 A; secular clerks and, 870 F, 995 F.
- Ceolred, king of the Mercians, 709 A; fights with Ine, 715 A; dies, 716 A; Werburg, wife of, 782 E.
- Ceolred, abbot of Medeshamstead, 852 E.
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- Ceolric, king of the West-Saxons, 591 A, E.
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- Ceolwulf, bp. in Lindsay, 777 E; leaves England, 794 A; dies, 796 E.
- Ceolwulf, miswritten for Cenwulf, 796 A, E.
- Ceorl, aldorman in Devon, 85 A.
- Cerdic, king of the West-Saxons, A Pref., 495 A, 552 A, 597 A, 674 A, 685 A, 688 A, 855 A, 534 A, 755 A, 784 A; slays Nantleod, 508 A; assumes the kingship, 519 A; fights against the Britons, 527 A; captures Wight, 530 A, 534 A; dies, 534 A.
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- Evesham (Worcestershire), 1037 C, 1054 C, D, 1045 D, 1077 E, 1078 D.
- Evreux (dép. Eure), 1112, 1130.
- Eugenius III, pope, 1137.
- Eunomius, 379 E.
- Eustace, son of Stephen, marries Constance sister of Louis VII, 1140; dies, *ib.*; buried at Faversham, 1154.
- Eustace II, count of Boulogne, married to sister of Edward Conf., 1052 D; outrage of, 1048 E, 1052 D.
- Eustace III, count of Boulogne, besieged in Rochester, 1087; goes on crusade, 1096; returns, 1100, 1101.
- Eutices, 449 E.
- Exeter [Exanceaster], 876 A, 877 A, 894 A, 1001 E, 1003 E, 1067 D, 1135.
- Exmouth (Devon), 1001 A.
- Eye [Ege], 963 E, p. 267.
- Eynsham (Oxon), 571 A.
- Faddiley (Cheshire), 584 A.
- Faramundus, 425 E.

- Faricius, abbot of Abingdon, 1117.
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- Gerard, abp. of York, 1103, 1108.
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 1097; joins Swegen Godwinson,
 1046 C; harries Herefordshire,
 1052^b D; Ælfgar and, 1055 C, E,
 1056 C, D, 1058 D; defeats Leof-
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- submits to Alfred, 878 A; in East-Anglia, 890 A.
- Gwent (S. Wales), 926 D.
- Gyric, 963 A.
- Gyrth, son of Godwin, goes to Thorney, 1052 A; to Bruges, *ib.*, 1051 C; slain, 1066 D, E.
- Gytha, wife of earl Godwin, goes to Thorney, 1052 D; restored, 1052 C, D; retires to Flatholme, 1067 D.
- Hacon, earl, 1030 C.
- Hacon, earl in Denmark, 1075 E, 1076 D.
- Hæsten [*i.e.* Heah-stan], Danish chieftain in the Thames, 893 A, 892 E; breaks his agreement with Alfred, 894 A.
- Halfden, a king of the Danes, 871 A, 876 A, 878 A.
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- Hardaknut, king of the English, at Canterbury, 1023 D; strives for the crown, 1036 E, 1037 C; at Bruges, 1039 C; invited to England, 1040 C; at Sandwich, 1039 E; Edward and, 1041 C; orders Eadwulf to be slain, *ib.*; dies, 1042 A, C, 1041 E.
- Harold I, king of the English, elected regent, 1036 E; parentage of, 1035 C, D; claims the crown, 1035 D, 1036, C, D, E; 1037 C; dies, 1039 E, 1040 A, C.
- Harold II, king of the English, son of Godwin, opposes Sweegen his brother, 1046^b E, 1049 C; joins Godwin, 1048 E, 1052 D; exiled, *ib.*; return of, 1052 C, D, E; at Winchester, 1053 C; becomes earl of Wessex, 1053 C, D, E; besieges Hereford, 1055 C; Leofgar chaplain of, 1056 C, D; reduces Wales, 1063 D, E; builds a hunting-lodge, 1065 C, D; negotiates with the Northumbrians, 1064 E; raised to the throne, 1066 C, D, E; at Westminster, *ib.*, C, D; at Sandwich, *ib.*, C; at Wight, *ib.*; fights at Stamford-bridge, *ib.*, C, D, E; defeated and slain at Hastings, *ib.*; Gytha, mother of, 1067 D; sons of, *ib.*, 1068 D.
- Harold Hardredy, king of Norway, in Norway, 1049 D; joins Tostig, 1066 C, D, E; defeats the English at Fulford, *ib.*; defeated and slain at, *ib.*; Olaf son of, *ib.*
- Harold, king of Denmark, 1076 E, 1077 D.
- Harold, Danish earl, 871 A.
- Hastings [Hæstingaceaster, Hæstingaport, Hæstingas], 1011 E, 1050 D, 1052 C, D, 1066 D, E, 1094.
- Hathra, 855 A.
- Heabureagh, 686 E.
- Headda, bp. of the West-Saxons, 676 A, 703 A.
- Headda, abbot of Peterborough, 963 E, p. 266.
- Heahmund, bp. of Sherborne, 871 A.
- Heahstan, bp. of London, 898 A.
- Healden, Danish king, 911 D.
- Heanbury, 675 E.
- Heardbert, 778 E, 798 E.
- Heardbert, aldorman, 805 A.
- Heardred, bp. of Hexham, 797 D.
- Heathens, heathen host (*i.e.*, the Danes), at Lindisfarne, 793 E; in Northumbria, 794 E; in Sheppey, 832 A, 855 A; in Romney marsh, 838 A; at Wicganbeorg, 851 A; in Thanet, *ib.*, 853 A, 852 E, 865 A; at Peterborough, 963 E.
- Heathfield, 675 E, 680 A.
- Heathfield [Hatfield Chase?], 633 E.
- Heca, bp. of Selsey, 1045 E, 1047 C, 1048 D, 1057 D, 1058 E.
- Helathyrn [Ellerburn, Yorks], 778 E.

Hélie de la Flèche, count of Maine, expelled by William II, 1099; Henry I and, 1110; dies, *ib.*

Hengist, lands in Britain, 449 A, E; fights against Wyrtegeorn, 455 A; at Crayford, 457 A; at Wippedsfleet, 465 A; against the Britons, 473 A.

Henry II, emperor, 1066 D.

Henry III, emperor, 1049 C, 1050 D, 1054 D, 1056 E; called Cona, *ib.*, C, D.

Henry IV, emperor, 1056 E, 1106.

Henry V, emperor, Henry I of England and, 1106, 1109, 1110, 1126, 1127.

Henry I, king of France, 1060, D, E.

Henry I, king of the English, knighted by William I, 1085^b; inherits large treasures, 1086 [1087]; sent for, 1094; sent to Normandy, 1095; crowned, 1100; marries, *ib.*; holds Christmas court at Westminster, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1108; Easter courts at Winchester, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1106, 1108, 1123; rebellions against, 1101, 1102, 1104, 1105, 1112, 1120, 1123; holds Whitsuntide courts at Westminster, 1104, 1107, 1108, 1109; holds courts at Windsor, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1107, 1110, 1114 E, H, 1127; Robert of Normandy and, 1101, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1126, 1127; spends festivals in Normandy, 1107, 1109, 1113, 1115; wars of, with France, 1108, 1111, 1112, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1120, 1121, 1124; invades Wales, 1114 E, H; ecclesiastical dealings of, 1100, 1103, 1107, 1114 E, H, 1116, 1119, 1120, 1123, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1131; dealings of, with Scotland, 1107, 1126; dealings of, with counts of Anjou, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1123, 1124, 1127; marries dr. to the Emperor, 1109, 1110; makes chief

men do homage to William atheling, 1115; heavy taxation of, 1116, 1117; marries Adelheid, 1121; causes his dr. to be recognized as his successor, 1127.

Henry II, king of the English, in Anjou, 1140; marries Eleanor, *ib.*; in England, *ib.*; crowned 1154.

Henry of Poitou, 1123, 1127; abbot of Peterborough, 1127, 1128, 1130, 1131, 1132.

Henry of Blois, bp. of Winchester, 1129.

Herbeard Losang, bp. of Thetford, 1094.

Herbert, aldorman, 838 A.

Hereferth, bp. of Winchester, 833 A.

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Herefrith, aldorman, 656 E.

Herelufu, abbess of Shaftesbury, 982 C.

Hereman, bp. of Wiltshire, 1043^b E, 1045 C, 1046 D; sent to Rome, 1047 E, 1049 C, 1051 D; returns, 1050 C; dies, 1077 E, 1078 D.

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Hereward, at Peterborough, 1070 E; refuses to submit, 1071 E, 1072 D.

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Herod Antipas, 12 A.

Herod, son of Antipater, 11 A.

Herod (*i.e.* Agrippa I), 46 A, 45 F. Hertford, 673 A, 1011 E, 1004 F is probably a mistake for Thetford.

Hetmundus, son of Harold Hardredy, (probably a mistake for Olaf), 1066 C.

Hexham (Northumberland), 789 E; bps. of, 681 E, 685 E, F, 685 E, 766 E, 780 E, 806 E.

- Higbald, bp. of Lindisfarne, 780 E; assists at coronation of Eardwulf, 795 E; dies, 803 E.
- Higbert, abp. of Lichfield, appointed by Offa, 785 A; signature of, 777 E.
- Hild, abbess of Whitby, 680 A.
- Hingston Down [Hengestesdun], Cornwall, 835 A.
- Hloth-here, bp. of the West-Saxons, 670 A.
- Hloth-here, king of Kent, 685 A.
- Hoge, 686 E.
- Holme (? near Swaffham, Norfolk), 902 C.
- Honorius I, pope, 627 E, 634 E.
- Honorius II, pope, 1124, 1125, 1129.
- Honorius, abp. of Canterbury, 995 F, 627 E; receives Paulinus, 633 E; dies, 653 E.
- Hook Norton (Oxon), 914 D, 917 A.
- Horsa, 449 A, E; slain, 455 A.
- Horthaland, 787 E.
- Howel the good, king of the Welsh, 922 A.
- Howel, king of the West-Welsh, 926 D.
- Hroald, 915 D, 918 A.
- Huda, aldorman of Surrey, 853 A, 852 E.
- Hugo (*i.e.* of Grantmesnil), 1087 [1088].
- Hugo (*i.e.* of Avranches), earl of Chester, 1094.
- Hugo (*i.e.* of Montgomery), earl of Shrewsbury, 1094, 1095, 1098.
- Hugo of Montfort-sur-Risle, 1123, 1124.
- Hugo, son of Gervais of Châteauneuf, 1124, 1126, 1129.
- Hugo of the Temple (*i.e.* of the Knights Templars), 1128.
- Hugo of Walteule, 1137.
- Hugon, 1003 E.
- Hulme (dép. Orne), 1094.
- Humber river, 827 A, 867 A, 942 A, 993 E, 1013 E, 1066 D, E, 1068 D, 1069 E, 1070 E.
- Huns, the, 443 A, E.
- Hunbert, aldorman, 852 F.
- Hundehog [Hundcot, Leicestershire], 1124.
- Hunferth, bp. of Winchester, 744 A, 754 A.
- Hungary, 1057 D.
- Huntingdon, 656 E, 921 A, 963 E.
- Huntingdonshire, 1011 E, 1016 D, E.
- Hussa, 603 E.
- Hwala, 855 A.
- Hwiccas, 800 A.
- Hythe (Kent), 1052 E.
- Ianbert, abp. of Canterbury, 995 F, 763 A, 762 E; receives his pall, 785 A; loses part of his province, 785 A; dies, 790 A.
- Icanho, 654 A, 653 E.
- Icel, 626 B, C, 755 A.
- Ida, king of the Northumbrians, 547 B, C, 560 A, 585 A, 593 E, 731 A; accession of, 547 A, E; death of, 560 A.
- Iehmarc, 1031 E.
- Ieothwel, 922 A.
- Iglea, 878 A.
- Ignatius, 110 A.
- Immine, 656 A.
- India, 83 E.
- Ine, king of the West-Saxons, 688 A, 855 A; rebuilds Glastonbury, 688 A; Kent and, 694 A; fights against Geraint, 710 A; against Ceolred, 715 A; slays Cynewulf, 721 A; built Taunton, 722 A; fights against the South-Saxons, 722 A, 725 A; goes to Rome, 728 A, 726 E.
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- Ingui, 547 B, C.
- Ingwar, 870 F, 878 A.
- Ingwald, bp. of London, 731 E.
- Innocent II, pope, 403 E.
- Inwona, bp. of Leicester, 777 E.
- Iona, 565 B, C, E, 716 A.
- Ipswich, 993 A, 1010 E.
- Ireland [Yraland, Hirland, Hibernia], E Pref., 891 A, 915 D, 918 A, 937 B, C, D, 941 D, 1050 D, 1048 E, 1052 D, 1052 C, D, E,

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 John, bp. of Hexham, 685 E, 721 E.
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 John of Gaeta, 1118.
 John of Crema, 1125.
 John, bp. of Lothian, 1125.
 John de Neuville, 1130.
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 Judea, 12 A.
 Judith, dr. of Charles of France, 885 A.
 Judith, wife of Tostig, 1052 D, 1061 D, 1065 C, D, 1064 E.
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 Justus, abp. of Canterbury, 955 F; consecrated bp. to Rochester, 604 A; to Canterbury, 616 A; consecrates Romanus, *ib.*; consecrates Paulinus, 625 A; dies, 627 E.
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 Knut, king of Denmark, invades England, 1075 E, 1076 D; threatens invasion, 1085; murdered, 1086 [1087]; 1119.
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- 1070 A; dispute of, with Thomas of York, *ib.*; crowns William II, 1086 [1087]; dies, 1089.
- Laurentius, abp. of Canterbury, 614 F, 616 A, E.
- Lea river, 895 A, 896 A, 913 A, D.
- Leicester [Ligeraceaster], 914 D, 917 A, 921 A, 918 C, 942 A, 943 D, 1124.
- Leighton Buzzard (Beds), 914 D, 917 A.
- Lenbury (Bucks), 571 A.
- Leo I, pope, 439 E.
- Leo III, pope, 797 A, 796 F, 800 E, 813 A, 814 A.
- Leo IV, pope, 853 A.
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- Leodulf, Duke of Swabia, 982 C.
- Leodwald, 731 A, 738 A.
- Leofgar, 1056 C, D.
- Leofric of Whitchurch, 1001 A.
- Leofric, bp. of Devon and Cornwall, 1044 E, 1045 C, 1047 D.
- Leofric, earl of Mercia, procures the regency of Harold, 1036 E; Edwin, brother of, 1039 C; takes part against Emma, 1043 D; Edward sends for, 1052 D, 1048 E, 1055, C, D, E; makes peace with the Welsh, 1056 C; dies, 1058 D, E, 1066 E.
- Leofric, abbot of Peterborough, 1052 E, 1066 E.
- Leofrun, abbess of St. Mildred's, 1011 C, D.
- Leofsig, bp. of Worcester, 1033 D.
- Leofsig, aldorman, 1002 E.
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- Leofwin, abbot of Ely, 1022 E.
- Leofwin, son of Godwin, 1052 D, 1051 C; slain at Hastings, 1061 D, E.
- Leofwin, bp. of Lichfield, 1053 C, 1054 D.
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- Leominster (Herefordshire), 1046 C, 1052^b D.
- Lichfield, 716; bps. of, 731 E, 1039 C, 1053 C, D.
- Lilla, 626 E.
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WITH INTRODUCTION, LIFE, AND NOTES BY

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LATE VICE-PRINCIPAL OF LADY MARGARET HALL, OXFORD

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